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THE

LIFE

OF

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CATHARINE II.

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED, AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Nihil compositum miraculi causâ, verùm audita scriptaque seniòribus tradam. TACIT. Ann. lib. xi.

THE THIRD EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENTS.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

CHAP. XII.

TRANSACTIONS at the court of St. Petersburg. — Bobrinsky. — Seminary of jesuits established at Mohilef. — Letter to the pope. — Literary works of the empress. — Statue of Peter the great. — Institution of the order of St. Vladimir. — The Krimea described. — Second interview with the king of Sweden. — Peace of Frederikstham. — The Taurian Palace. — Death of count Panin and of prince Orloff. 1782, 1783, 1784. Page 1

CHAP. XIII.

Relations of Russia with Persia, China, and Japan. — The empress resolves to defend the rights of Joseph II. over the Scheldt. — Adventure of the grand duke at Gatchina. — Death of Lanskoi. — Marriage of prince Potemkin. — Yermoloff becomes favourite. — League of the electors. — Treaty of commerce with France. — Dinner of toleration. — Momonoff

noff ſucceeds Yermoloff. — The empreſs purchaſes the libraries of Voltaire and of d'Alembert. — 1784, 1785, 1786. - - Page 55

CHAP. XIV.

Catharine II. takes a journey to the Krimea. — Aſſaſſination of khan Sahim-Gueray. — The Turks declare war againſt Ruſſia. — Guſtavus III. invades Finland. — Sea-fight between the Swedes and the Ruſſians. — Bentzelſtierna makes an attempt to burn the ruſſian fleet at Copenhagen. — Capture of Otchakoff. — Peace of Varela. — Victories obtained over the Turks. — Capture of Iſmail. — Diſmiſſion of Momonoff. — Elevation of Zuboff. — The court of Great Britain ſends Mr. Fawkener to Peterſburg. — Peace of Yaſſy. — Death of prince Potemkin. — 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792. - 151

CHAP. XV.

State of the court of Peterſburg at the death of prince Potemkin. — Inſurrection of Koſciuſko. — Laſt partition of Poland. — Aſſaſſination of Guſtavus III. — Death of Leopold II. — French emigrants in Ruſſia. — Of Plato Zuboff and his brothers. — Treaty concluded with Great Britain. — Conſpiracy of Armfeldt. — Journey of Guſtavus Adolphus to St. Peterſburg. — Conqueſts in Perſia. — Death of Catharine II. — Statement of the preſents that were received by her favourites. — Forces, expenditure, and revenues of Ruſſia. — 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796. 335

APPEN-

APPENDIX to the THIRD VOLUME.

No. I. Manifeſto publiſhed by order of the empreſs of Ruſſia, upon the occaſion of her troops entering the peninſula of the Krimea, the Kuban, and the iſland of Taman; which countries are hereby declared to be annexed to her imperial majeſty's dominions. - - - Page 441

No. II. Letter from the empreſs of all the Ruſſias to his pruſſian majeſty. - - - 446

No. III. Manifeſto of the ſublime porte againſt Ruſſia, dated 24th of Auguſt, 1787. - 447

Manifeſto of the court of Ruſſia againſt the ſublime porte, dated Peterſburg, Sept. 13th, 1787. 450

No. IV. Note delivered the 18th of June, by the ruſſian ambaſſador at Stockholm, to the ſwediſh miniſtry. - - - - - 454

Anſwer of the court of Stockholm to the foregoing reſcript. - - - 456

Copy of a circular note delivered by the court of Sweden to all the foreign miniſters, dated Stockholm, June 23, 1788. - 458

Declaration of the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, againſt the king of Sweden, June 30, 1788. - 460

Exhortation of the king of Sweden to his ſubjects. 463

Declaration,

Declaration, and counter-declaration, between Denmark and Sweden. - - - Page 465

Copy of a declaration delivered to the confederated ſtates of Poland by the pruſſian miniſter at Warſaw, dated October 12, 1788, on the ſubject of an intended alliance between Ruſſia and Poland. 467

Anſwer of the diet at Warſaw to the king of Pruſſia's declaration. - - - 469

No. V. Articles of the quadruple alliance between Ruſſia, Auſtria, France, and Spain. - 470

No. VI. Treaty of peace concluded between the king of Sweden and the empreſs of all the Ruſſias. 471

No. VII. Manifeſto of the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, relative to the partition of Poland. - - 474

Manifeſto of his pruſſian majeſty relative to the partition of Poland, March 25. - 478

Declaration of the king and republic of Poland, aſſembled in diet at Grodno, proteſting againſt the forcible partition of Poland. - 481

No. VIII. The principal articles of the treaty concluded at Yaſſy the 9th of January 1792, and ſigned by prince Repnin and the grand vizir. - 482

No. IX. Some particulars of the ukaſe or edict publiſhed in regard to the French eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia. - - - - 483

No. X.

No. X. Abolition of the meſſages relative to family events between Sweden and Ruſſia. Page 485

No. XI. Act by which Courland, Semigallia, and the circle of Pilten, ſurrendered themſelves to the empreſs of Ruſſia. - - - 485

No. XII. Form of the individual oath exacted of the Lithuanians and the Poles. - - - 486

No. XIII. Ruſſian declaration. - - 487

Note delivered by the illuſtrious general confederation to H. E. Mr. de Sievers, ambaſſador extraordinary of her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, in anſwer to thoſe of that miniſter. - - 491

No. XIV. Univerſal, publiſhed in the name of the empreſs in the heretofore poliſh provinces, now under her dominion - - - 493

No. XV. Remonſtrance made to the count de Sievers, the ruſſian ambaſſador on the part of the king and the ſtates of Poland by the chancellor of the crown, and of the grand duchy of Lithuania. 496

Note delivered to M. de Sievers. - - 497

Anſwer to the ruſſian ambaſſador. - - 498

Decree of the diet, paſſed on the 2d of September, at Grodno, empowering the deputation to treat with the pruſſian miniſter. - - 499

LIFE

LIFE

OF THE

EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

CHAP. XII.

Tranſactions at the court of St. Peterſburg.—Bobrinſky.—Seminary of jeſuits eſtabliſhed at Mohilef.—Letter to the pope.—Literary works of the empreſs.—Statue of Peter the great.—Inſtitution of the order of St. Vladimir.—The Krimea deſcribed.—Second interview with the king of Sweden.—Peace of Frederikſham.—The Taurian Palace.—Death of count Panin and of prince Orloff. 1782, 1783, 1784.

THE brothers Gregory and Alexius Orloff had long been retired from court. All at once they again made their appearance, and were almoſt utter ſtrangers to each other. Both of

them were married *, and were juſt come from their travels in France, Italy, and England. Gregory, unable to bear the ſight of an all-powerful rival, abſented himſelf again without delay.

Bobrinſky too about this time returned to Peterſburg. This darling ſon, whom the empreſs had by Gregory Orloff †, ſeemed deſtined to arrive at the firſt dignities of the empire. But the bad habits he contracted on his travels rendered uſeleſs the tenderneſs of his mother, and the care ſhe had beſtowed on his education.

Catharine, on ſeeing Bobrinſky arrived at an age fit for making the tour of Europe, had wiſhed to give him in charge to ſome perſon whoſe ſagacity, learning, and prudence, rendered him worthy of ſo much confidence. In order to find ſuch a man, ſhe applied to count Betzkoï, marſhal of the court, director of the imperial corps of cadets, and a flatterer of uncommon aſſiduity. Betzkoï, who thought of

* Gregory Orloff had married the young counteſs Zinovieff, his niece, maid of honour to the empreſs. He had no children by his marriage. Alexius had only a daughter, who was afterwards married to the ſon of the miniſter Panin.

† Catharine had alſo by Gregory Orloff a daughter, who either died young, or is living in obſcurity.

little elſe than the advancement of his family, and who imagined that the natural ſon of Catharine would neceſſarily make the fortune of whoever ſhould ſerve him in the capacity of governor, aſſured the empreſs that lieutenant-colonel Ribas, his ſon-in-law, was the fitteſt perſon for filling that office. The empreſs believed him. Bobrinſky, at that time gentle, modeſt, docile, quitted Ruſſia under the tutelage of Ribas, and returned to it with that perverſity of manners and inſolence, which he could not fail to acquire from the leſſons and the example of his licentious tutor *.

Though

* Ribas, who became vice-admiral of the galley-fleet ſtationed at Nicolaëf, on the Euxine, was born at Naples, of a ſpaniſh family. His father, who was called Boujon, was a farrier at Barcelona. When the ſpaniſh army marched into Italy for the eſtabliſhment of Don Carlos, Boujon performed ſome petty ſervices to general De Los Rios, which procured him his attachment. Being come to Naples, he ſent for Ribas; and Los Rios, who was appointed miniſter at war, employed him in his office. Young Ribas was made ſub-lieutenant in the regiment of Sania. Some little affair about paſſports and patents obliged him to quit Naples. He made for Leghorn, where the ſquadron under the command of Alexèy Orlòff was then at anchor. The admiral, who had reaſon to know him to be a very ignorant, and not very ſcrupulous man, gave him a brevet of lieutenant of one of the ſhips, and employed him to commence the ſtratagem that was practiſed on the unhappy daughter of Elizabeth. He afterwards ſent him off to Peterſburg

Though extremely afflicted at the deviations of Bobrinſky, the empreſs long bore with them like an indulgent parent. But ſeeing that the preſence of this thoughtleſs youth would expoſe her too often to confuſion, ſhe determined to ſend him into a ſort of exile at Reval.

On her journey to Mohilef, the empreſs had obſerved that the people of White Ruſſia, who for the moſt part profeſſed the romiſh religion, were ſtrongly attached, not only to that faith, but to the jeſuits. Conſidering afterwards that there was no great danger in permitting theſe monks to live in a corner of her vaſt dominions, whereas, on the other hand, it would be advantageous to her to flatter the opinion of the inhabitants of the new provinces, ſhe ap-

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with tidings that the victim was fallen into his hands. Ribas, being arrived at Peterſburg, was regarded with favourable eyes by the daughter of count Betzkoï, and they were married. He was at the ſame time appointed lieutenant-colonel, and aſſiſtant to his father-in-law. After having attended Bobrinſky through France and Italy, he was promoted to the ranks of brigadier and colonel of the carabineers. At the ſiege of Otchakof, prince Potemkin made him chef-d'eſcadre. Shortly after he commanded the galley-fleet on the Danube and was raiſed to be vice-admiral. It may eaſily be conceived what ſort of a ſeaman he was.—We have been rather circumſtantial in this note, in order to ſhew by what means advancement might be ſometimes obtained at the court of Catharine.

pointed

pointed Shezronchevitch, a native of Poland, to be catholic archbiſhop * of Mohilef, to whom ſhe gave as coadjutor a jeſuit named Beniſlaufsky.

At the ſame time ſhe granted leave for the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary of jeſuits, the direction of which was committed to father Gabriel Denkievitch, appointed vicar-general of his order.

Beniſlaufsky was ſhortly after diſpatched to Rome, in quality of miniſter from the court of Ruſſia. On requeſting of the pope the eſtabliſhment of the jeſuits, he delivered to him, on the part of the empreſs, a letter, which, from reſpect to the greek chriſtians, ſhe diſavowed in the gazette of Peterſburg †, but which was not, therefore, the leſs written by her own hand. The following are a few fragments of it:

" I know that your holineſs is greatly embar-
" raſſed; but fear ill agrees with your character.
" Your dignity cannot coincide with politics,
" whenever politics are injurious to religion.
" The motives by which I have been led to
" grant my protection to the jeſuits are founded
" on reaſon and equity, as well as on the hope
" that they will prove uſeful to my people.

* Formerly an excellent officer in the pruſſian ſervice: moreover, a very worthy archbiſhop.

† See the Peterſburg gazette of the 20th of April.

"That company of peaceable and harmleſs "men ſhall live in my empire, becauſe, of all "the catholic ſocieties, it is the beſt qualified "to inſtruct my ſubjects, and to inſpire them "with the ſentiments of humanity and the true "principles of the religion of Chriſt.

"I am reſolved to ſupport theſe prieſts "againſt any potentate whatever; and in ſo "doing I only fulfil my duty, ſince I am their "ſovereign, and regard them as faithful, uſeful, "and innocent ſubjects. I am the more deſirous "to ſee four of them inveſted with the power "of adminiſtering confirmation at Moſco and "at Peterſburg, as the two catholic churches "of thoſe cities are committed to their care. "Who can tell whether Providence may not "have decreed theſe pious men to be the inſtru-"ments of that union, ſo long devoutly deſired, "between the greek and roman churches? "Your holineſs may baniſh every fear, as I will "ſupport with all my power the rights which "you have received from Jeſus Chriſt."

The ambaſſadors of France and Spain, amazed at ſeeing at Rome a miniſter accredited by the court of Ruſſia, took various meaſures for diſcovering what might be the object of theſe negotiations. The pope himſelf informed them of it, and aſked them what anſwer he ſhould make.

make. Each of them conſulted his court, who would have nothing to do in the buſineſs; and the roman pontiff iſſued a brief, confirming the ſociety of the jeſuits in the dominions of the empreſs of Ruſſia.

Perhaps Catharine might make the obtaining of this brief a matter of ſo much conſequence, only becauſe ſhe imagined that all the jeſuits of Europe and America would bring into White Ruſſia their treaſures and their induſtry. But, whatever were her expectations, the ſpoils of Paraguay never came to Mohilef. The diſciples of Loyola were too artful to go and ſurrender themſelves and their riches into the hands of a monarch ſo ſuddenly become their patron, and who was not in ſubjection to the ſee of Rome *.

The empreſs at length completed the diviſion of her provinces, and all of them enjoyed the

* Father O'Sullivan, a native of Ireland, being aſked how they could live as a body after the order had been ſolemnly aboliſhed by the ſovereign pontiff? the worthy jeſuit heſitated to reply, and made ſeveral evaſions; but at length, upon its being urged that they muſt certainly be prepared with an anſwer to a queſtion which it was natural for them to expect, the good father ſaid it lay in the maxim, *Lex non eſt lex niſi promulgata.* "Now," continued he, "the papal bull has never been publiſhed in the empreſs of "Ruſſia's dominions."

benefit of the regulations which ſhe had begun to introduce in 1776, in the governments of Tver and Smolenſk. Every year of her reign was marked by freſh conqueſts and ſalutary inſtitutions.

It has been before obſerved, that Catharine diſtinguiſhed herſelf as an author. The nobleſt and truly affecting performances of her pen in this quality were undertaken from affection to her grandchildren. Hence aroſe the "Miſcel-"laneous Pieces," or, "The Library of the "Grand-dukes." Pleaſantry and inſtruction, national hiſtory and deſcription of manners, livelineſs and gravity, the gay and the ſevere, are interchangeably blended together; and who is there but muſt admire the great woman, who, amidſt the affairs of ſuch an empire, reſting entirely on her own perſonal energy, was ſo conſtantly attentive to the education of her ſucceſſors? It has ſomewhere been thrown out with an air of importance, that the "Sketch of "Ruſſian Hiſtory" was taken from Stritter's manuſcripts: as if that were a matter of conſequence! as if it were ſeriouſly expected that the empreſs ſhould ſit down to the tedious inveſtigation of the tranſactions and authorities of the dark periods of ſclavonian hiſtory! as if any literary man, intending to deliver leſſons of hiſtory to his children,

would

would not adhere to the method obſerved by ſome authentic writer! But, that a ruler over ten kingdoms ſhould apply herſelf, with ſo much zeal and aſſiduity, in forming the minds of her imperial progeny, that ſhe underſtood what was proper for them to learn, and took the pains to ſee that they were taught it well: this is worthy of particular notice by the pen of the hiſtorian; and the delightful "Tale of the tzarevitch "Chlor" will at once captivate the heart of every child, and pleaſe every thinking man. An empreſs wrote it, and drew none of the materials from any learned man's papers.

Catharine was eminently reſpectable in the circle of her family. With a ſevere, but always fond concern, with the only proper method of treating children, in contradiction to her maternal tenderneſs, when it was neceſſary to maintain the authority of the preceptor, ſhe proſecuted the culture of the affections and talents of her grandſons, and lived to ſee herſelf amply rewarded for the cares ſhe beſtowed. She converſed with the tutor in their preſence; and, when they were abſent, wrote marginal remarks on their leſſons, one while addreſſed to the ſcholars, and at others to the teacher. One inſtance of this kind may ſuffice. The ſubject of the morning had been, the nature of the govern-

government in Switzerland, on which the tutor had diſcourſed in conformity with his liberal turn of mind. On returning to their ſtudies the following day, they read at the bottom of the exerciſe, in the hand-writing of her majeſty, "*Monſieur l'Harpe, continuez vos leçons de cette* "*ſorte; vos ſentimens me plaiſent beaucoup.*"

This year was marked by the inauguration of the famous ſtatue of Peter I.—a work in which the genius of Stephen Falconet ſo happily ſeconded the intention of Catharine.

The empreſs having reſolved to erect in the city of Peterſburg an equeſtrian ſtatue of Peter the great, ſhe wrote to Falconet at Paris, to come and execute that monument. He conceived the deſign of having for the pedeſtal of his ſtatue a huge and rugged rock, to indicate to poſterity, whence the heroic legiſlator had ſet out, and what obſtacles he ſurmounted.

An idea ſo novel and ſo ſublime met with general approbation: and now the buſineſs was to find a maſs of ſtone which in ſhape and bulk might correſpond with the grandeur of the deſign.

Chance, which is only favourable to great undertakings, and does nothing for mediocrity, ſtept in to aſſiſt the diſcovery. Near the village Lachta in Karelia, a rock was found, which Nature

Nature had placed in a vaſt moraſs, not far from a bay formed by the gulph of Finland. At firſt ſight of this maſs it was deemed proper for the execution of the views of the artiſt. On meaſuring it, it was found, that the height of it, taken from the horizontal line, was 21 feet by 42 in length and 34 in breadth.

The very idea of moving ſuch an enormous maſs was ſufficient of itſelf to deter any perſons from the attempt: but under the reign of Catharine II. difficulties were no hindrances to the execution of a plan. Accordingly, the bold project, worthy of the ancient Romans, was formed for tranſporting this rock to Peterſburg.

In order to this, a beginning was made by removing the ground to diſcover its foundations. It was natural to imagine, that what appeared above the moraſs was no more than the ſummit of a rock which ſunk deep in the boſom of the earth; but the workmen were juſtly ſurpriſed in finding that this ſolid maſs of ſtone was abſolutely detached, and lay upon the ground as if placed there by a miracle.

To this ſingular diſcovery another ſucceeded not leſs remarkable: which was, that in all this vaſt moraſs and its environs, not another ſtone was to be found, nor even gravel or ſand or any other

other kind of ſubſtance analogous to this ſtupendous rock, or adapted to form its conſtituent parts.

But what ſtruck the beholders with moſt aſtoniſhment was the interior of the ſtone. A ſtroke of thunder had damaged it on one ſide. On knocking off the ſhattered fragment, inſtead of homogeneous particles, a collection of all ſorts of precious ſtones appeared: cryſtals, agates, granites, topazes, cornelians, amethyſts, preſented to the eyes of the curious a ſight not leſs unexpected than magnificent, and to the naturaliſts an object of intereſting inveſtigation *.

All theſe circumſtances, which Nature had combined in this rock, were powerful motives for ſparing neither pains, nor expence, nor labour, for drawing it from its place, and ſetting it as a monument, the only one of its kind in the world, and worthy of perpetuating the memory of the greateſt of monarchs.

The firſt diſcovery of this ſtone had been made in the month of November 1768. The labourers employed about it proceeded in their work ſo briſkly, that, in the month of March in

* Thouſands of theſe, as well as other parts of the ſtone, were cut and poliſhed into bracelets, rings, necklaces, ſnuff-boxes, heads of canes, &c. and found a very rapid ſale not only among people of faſhion, but throughout the empire.

the

the following year, they were able to raiſe it above the ground for placing it on grooves filled with cannon-balls, and dragging it forward by windlaſſes towards Peterſburg *.

One cannot ſufficiently admire the ardour and the celerity with which, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and in the moſt inclement ſeaſon of the year, ſo much of this extraordinary enterpriſe was completed: but what remained to perform preſented a far more arduous operation.

This immenſe ſtone was ſituate at the diſtance of 11 verſts, or about 41,250 engliſh feet, from the ſpot where the monument was to be erected to which it was to ſerve as the pedeſtal.

On its tranſport thither it muſt paſs over heights, croſs moraſſes and ſwampy ways, be conveyed over rivers, fall down the Neva, be

* The mechaniſm for the conveyance of this rock was invented by count Carbury, who here went under the name of the chevalier Laſcari. A ſolid road was firſt made from the ſtone to the ſhore; then braſs ſlips were inſerted under the ſtone to go upon cannon-balls of five inches diameter in metal grooves, by windlaſſes worked by 400 men, every day 200 fathom towards the ſhore. The water tranſport was performed by what are called camels in the dock-yards of Peterſburg and Amſterdam, by which firſt-rates and other ſhips of war, &c. are lifted over ſhallows or bars of ſand, to their place of deſtination.

diſembarked

diſembarked and drawn by land to the place of its deſtination.

Whoever would form a juſt idea of the greatneſs of this undertaking, and the labours it required, muſt conſider that the weight of this enormous maſs, geometrically calculated, amounted to three millions two hundred thouſand pounds. The largeſt obeliſk that is known, that which Conſtantius, ſon of Conſtantine the great, cauſed to be tranſported from Alexandria to Rome, weighs only 907,789 pounds, which does not come up to the third part of the weight of the rock of Peterſburg.

Such is the ſtone which ſupports the equeſtrian ſtatue of the legiſlator of Ruſſia. The hiſtory of the arts knows of nothing either ſo great or ſo marvellous.

The ſtatue itſelf is truly a maſter-piece. Falconet has ſuccceded in the reſemblance to admiration; the features of the tzar's countenance are wonderfully well expreſſed *. The artiſt repreſents the hero on horſeback as in the act of aſcending a ſteep rock, the ſummit of which he

* In the model of the head of the hero, the artiſt Falconet diſclaimed all merit. It was the production of a lady, mademoiſelle Collot, who afterwards was married to Peter Falconet, the ſon of the artiſt, and is a performance of uncommon excellence.

propoſes

propoſes to attain. Peter is crowned with laurels and in an aſiatic dreſs; he extends his right arm with great dignity, while with the left he holds the bridle of his horſe, whoſe beauty of form and elegant attitude captivate the admiration of all ſpectators. He ſtands only on his hinder-feet, and is in the attitude of a fiery courſer reſolved to attain the ſummit of the rock. To combine ſolidity with excellence was therefore difficult; but this the ingenious artiſt found a way to accompliſh. The brazen ſerpent which is trampled on by the horſe, is emblematical, doubtleſs, of oppoſition to the views of the monarch; but it artfully ſerves likewiſe to give an equipoiſe to the ſtatue; the point of bearing is by this means not perceived, which is the full and flowing tail of the horſe gently falling on the ſerpent writhing with pain *.

* The fount of the ſtatue was likewiſe done by M. Falconet, in a houſe built on purpoſe adjacent to the ſtone. The metal is a bronze of copper with ſome tin and zinc, and weighed 44,041 ruſs pounds; the iron inſerted in the hinder part of the horſe, to preſerve the balance, was 10,000 pounds in weight. The head, the arms, the feet, and the drapery of the rider, are of the thickneſs of three, and the body of four lines; the head and the fore feet of the horſe are three lines thick, but the thickneſs increaſes hindwards to one inch. Few founts of ſuch a magnitude have ever been ſo thin. It is a coloſſal ſtatue, the figure of the monarch being 11 feet in height, and the height of the horſe 17 feet.

Too

Too much of the ſtone was chipped off by M. Falconet, ſo that at laſt it was in want of an addition. It is grounded on piles cloſely driven; and has on the ſide towards the admiralty, in letters of caſt metal: PETRU PERVOMU EKATERINA VTORAIA. 1782. and on the ſide next the ſena'e the ſame in latin: PETRO PRIMO CATHARINA SECUNDA.

On the day * of the ceremonious diſcloſure of this noble monument to the public, the empreſs appeared in the balcony of the ſenate-houſe, and ſolemnized the event by the diſtribution of gold and ſilver medals, and by a gracious ukaſe, which put an end to every proceſs of more than ten years ſtanding, diſcharged all debtors who had been five years in confinement, and remitted all debts to the crown below the ſum of 500 rubles †.

In

* The 7th of Auguſt 1782.

† The expence of this monument was truly imperial, The tranſport of the rock, its pedeſtal, from Lachta, coſt 70,000 rubles. Falconet's ſalary for nine years came to 48,000 rubles, and he received 26,800 rubles as a compenſation for free quarters: he was paid apart for the foundery 17,500 rubles; his three aſſiſtants 27,284 rubles, the melter Kailoff 2500 rubles, &c.: all together amounting, by the accounts of the office for public buildings, to 424,610 rubles.—Mademoiſelle Collot acquired ſuch great reputation by

In the mean time, the fury of the plague, which, through the ſummer and autumn of the year 1782, had moſt cruelly ravaged all the tartar and turkiſh countries on the frontiers of Ruſſia and Poland, had ſerved to reſtrain the no leſs cruel ravages of war; and in particular had greatly checked the operation of the ruſſian armies, who were much more intent on guarding againſt the approaches of that fell enemy, than on gratifying ambition at the expence of any other.

Before the effect of the late pacific counſels could be known, the porte had the mortification to diſcover, that the impatience and haughtineſs of its great neighbours were too extreme to admit of their liſtening to arguments, or waiting the ſlow reſult of negotiations. The emperor of Germany now pulled off the maſk, and avowed his determination of ſupporting all the claims and pretenſions of Ruſſia, as well as his own; and

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by compoſing the head of the hero, that ſhe was employed to make a buſt of the empreſs in marble, and engaged by many of the nobility in works of like nature for them. The medallion of the late lady Cathcart, who died in 1772, at Peterſburg, for her monument in Scotland, is the work of her chiſel. This female artiſt, during her ſtay in Ruſſia, by her indefatigable induſtry, gained a competency of about 50,000 rubles.

the engagements between both were declaredly reciprocal. Towards the cloſe of the year 1782 two very ſtrong, and, as they were called, ſpirited memorials, were preſented from the courts of Peterſburg and Vienna; in which, beſides other things, it was peremptorily inſiſted, that the porte ſhould not in future, under any pretence, intermeddle in the affairs of the Tartars; that the privileges of the two provinces of Moldavia and Valakhia ſhould not be infringed; and that the free navigation of the Euxine and the Archipelago ſhould not in any manner be obſtructed. The conſequences of a failure with reſpect to theſe demands could not be more fully explained than they already were, by the appearance of the armies on the frontiers, and of the vaſt preparations for war which had been made by both the parties.

The part which neceſſity compelled the porte to take had been already decided in her own councils; but it was neceſſary to preſerve ſome appearances of dignity. Every preparation was made as if war had been determined upon; and ſome of the turkiſh officers upon the emperor's frontiers, in their eagerneſs for that event, and perhaps miſtaking theſe appearances for realities, committed ſome irregularities which afforded room for complaint. The porte likewiſe, deſperate

rate as its circumſtances were, gave an immediate inſtance of ſpirit, in the puniſhment of one of its officers or vaſſals. The hoſpodar of Valakhia was long known to be ſtrongly attached to the ruſſian intereſt, and was likewiſe ſuſpected, probably with juſtice, of keeping up a private, but conſtant correſpondence with that people. Two of his ſons, ſome time before, had made a ſeeming eſcape, as if purſued by enemies, from their father's court, and fled to Vienna. With all theſe unfavourable circumſtances, the propoſition in the late memorials, relative to the privileges of that province, was ſuppoſed to originate from, and partly to relate to this man. However theſe things were, the hoſpodar was condemned to the bow-ſtring, in a few days after the memorials had been preſented. It is little to be doubted but that he hoped, in caſe a new arrangement of territorial dominion ſhould take place, that the principality might, upon certain conditions, be rendered hereditary in his family: an idea probably as problematical, as any he could poſſibly have entertained.

1783. Not long after this, Catharine inſtituted the order of St. Vladimir as a reward to ſuch of her ſubjects as had faithfully ſerved the country in any civil employment; having already

created the military order of St. George *, the grand cordon of which is only given to generals who have gained a battle. It muſt be owned that the hope of obtaining this recompence has probably procured many a victory to Ruſſia. None knew better than Catharine what influence the decorations of vanity have upon mankind.

Ruſſia now beheld the rapid increaſe of the advantages derived from her late conqueſts. Her commerce on the Euxine was making freſh progreſs from day to day. The ruſſian veſſels paſſed the Dardanelles, and proceeded to trade at Aleppo, at Smyrna, and in the ports of Italy. The racey and delicious wines of Greece were brought into White Ruſſia, and thence were ſent over all Poland.

Catharine had recently cauſed the foundations to be laid of the city of Kerſon, on the ſhores of the Dniepr, at the diſtance of about ten leagues from Otchakof; and prince Potemkin accelerated the works with incredible activity. He was frequently ſeen to ſet out from Peterſburg, fly as it were to the banks of the

* For a brief account of theſe orders the reader is referred to the ſecond volume.

Dniepr,

Dniepr *, and make his appearance again on thoſe of the Neva †, in leſs time than would be requiſite for an ordinary man to perform the journey to Moſco. Kerſon already counted 40,000 inhabitants within its walls; and from its yards were launched not only veſſels for the purpoſes of commerce, but ſhips of war deſtined to ſtrike terror into the ottoman empire.

This advantage rekindled the ambition of the empreſs and Potemkin. They longed with equal ardour for the conqueſt of a country without which they could not hope to realize their plans againſt the turkiſh empire, and the poſſeſſion whereof would probably be ſufficient to compenſate the failure of thoſe plans. Catharine began by detaching the Krimea from Turkey, and immediately reſolved to invade it. The fertility of that country is ſtill a matter in diſpute: but the reſources it affords to her armies, and the advantages it holds out to

* Kerſon, founded in 1778, is ſituated on the ſhores of the Dniepr, a little above the mouth of the Bogue, and in the neighbourhood of the Liman, a ſwampy lake, the entrance of which is guarded by the fortreſs of Kinburn, and is about a mile over. The Liman has depth enough for the reception of large veſſels; but they very quickly decay in it, as the water is freſh.

† The diſtance from Peterſburg to Kerſon is 2000 veſts.

commerce *, cannot be called in queſtion. The importance of the Krimea being ſo great in the opinion of Catharine, a ſhort deſcription of it will be here expected.

The Krimea is a narrow peninſula, of about 75 leagues in circuit, ſituated about 2050 verſts to the ſouth of Peterſburg. Its ſhores on the ſouth and the weſt are laved by the Euxine; the ſea of Azof or the Palus Mœotis, and the ſtraights of Zabache incloſe it to the eaſt and the north. The iſthmus which joins it to the continent is not, in breadth, above a league and a half. From this iſthmus, on which is built the fortreſs of Perekop †, to the hill Karaſu-bazar, the country is only a vaſt plain, riſing inſenſibly to the top of the hill, which forms the ſouthern coaſts.

The plain which extends from Perekop to the river Sargir is in length about 25 leagues. It contains a great number of moraſſes and lakes,

* Of what benefit it was to the antient Greeks, and afterwards to the Genoeſe, who got poſſeſſion of it in 1471, and were driven out of it by khan Bangli-Gueray, is well known.—For a more particular account of the Krim, ſee that tranſmitted by the writer hereof to the Gent.'s Mag. Auguſt 1786, and thence copied into Ann. Reg. vol. xxviii. p. 129.

† The Tartars call it Or-kapi.

which

which furniſh ſalt to the provinces adjacent to Ruſſia, to the Krimea itſelf, to Natolia, and to Baſſarabia.

Almoſt the whole plain may be traverſed without meeting with a running ſtream. The inhabitants of that part are obliged to conſtruct, contiguous to each houſe, reſervoirs for the preſervation of rain-water. The land is there deſtitute of trees of all kinds. Not a ſingle buſh, not even a briar, is to be ſeen. The plants cultivated there are in a wretched condition. This nakedneſs of the ground, however, is not to be attributed to the defect of fertility, but to the numerous herds and flocks continually roaming about this part of the Krimea, devouring or deſtroying the vegetables it produces, at the very inſtant they appear.

The inclination of the Tartars for the nomadic life, and their averſion to agriculture, is the reaſon, that this country is left to deſolation. But if theſe people could be once brought to divide the land between them, there would be paſturage enough, and the remainder would abundantly produce the vegetables neceſſary to life. If one Tartar would addict himſelf to the culture of the earth, his labour would ſuffice to ſupply the wants of a hundred of his countrymen.

The Krimea may be divided into two parts; the flat country and the mountainous. The former, which extends from Perekop to Koſlof, and from the river Bulganack to Karaſu-bazar, to Keffa, and to Yeni-kaly, is ſprinkled with a number of ſmall villages, the inhabitants whereof live upon the profits ariſing from ſalt and the products of their cattle. The mountains lie to the ſouth, along the Euxine; and, in a right line extend to the weſt, from Keffa as far as the vicinity of Belbek.

The two moſt conſiderable rivers of the Krimea are, the Salgir and the Karaſu; which fall into the Palus Mœotis. The former takes its ſource not far from Achmetſched, and the ſecond ariſes near Karaſu-bazar; from which place, after having irrigated the adjacent plain, it flows into the Salgir. All the other rivers and ſtreams that fall from the chain of mountains, beginning at Keffa, take a north and north-eaſt courſe, excepting that which iſſues from mount Akta, beyond Achmetſched. The other rivers fall into the Euxine: theſe are, the Amna, the Katſha, the Belbek, the Kaſulki.

The mountains are covered with foreſts of timber trees, the haunts of ſavage beaſts. The land of the vallies is fertile; and for being prolific,

lific, waits only for the hand of the labourer. Grain of all kinds and the vine flouriſh on their declivities. The mountains contain mines, which are ſuppoſed to be extremely rich; but the mountaineers deſpiſe theſe natural bounties: the produce of their flocks, and a little bread, ſuffice them for ſubſiſtence *.

The iſle of Taman, ſituate at the entrance of the ſtraight which connects the ſea of Azof with the Euxine is rich and very populous.

The Kuban, a vaſt and arid deſert, which extends from the frontiers of the Krimea as far as the foot of mount Caucaſus, has, like the Leſſer Tartary, but a ſcanty population.

Such are the countries of which the court of Peterſburg, ſince the peace of Kaïnardgi, had impatiently waited for the moment of getting poſſeſſion.

* The myrzas, or nobles, and all the opulent Tartars in general, reſide continually in the country; never coming into towns but on matters of buſineſs. They have no courts of judicature in the country. Diſputes are extremely rare; and whenever they happen, they are decided on the ſpot by the authority of the koran. Petty differences, that ariſe in the villages, and cannot be adjudged by the koran, are amicably ſettled by the elders or abeſes. But in the towns, all affairs of importance, excepting caſes of murder, are brought before the kaïma-khan, or commandant, who pronounces without appeal.

Catharine

Catharine had no other view in raiſing Sahim Gueray to the place of khan*, than to make him the inſtrument of her ambition; ſhe only loaded him with careſſes and benefits, in order to render him a more reſiſtleſs victim. That prince, of a mild but weak and open diſpoſition, was far from ſuſpecting the deſigns of the Ruſſians. He was fond of novelties, and delighted with the arts of Europe: the people of the court indulged his inclination; they procured him the enjoyments of voluptuouſneſs and the refinements of luxury. He preſently learnt to deſpiſe the manners of his country. He quitted his uſual manner of eating, engaged a ruſſian

* The khan had always been the eldeſt male of the Gueray family, of the race of Tſchingis khan, unleſs debarred from the ſucceſſion by ſome natural incapacity, or by the interference of the people, which occaſionally happened, conferring their choice on another, but conſtantly one of the Gueray dynaſty, being the eldeſt and neareſt to the right line of deſcent. In proceſs of time this family became very numerous, and it was difficult to determine whoſe claim was moſt valid; ſo that latterly the khans were wholly elective. The electors were chiefly the myrzas and the beys; but the public opinion was alſo taken into conſideration, as the nomination of an unwarlike or unpopular khan generally brought on an oppoſition from the people. The porte afterwards eſtabliſhed a right of confirming the election, which ſoon grew into a right of appointing the khan.

cook,

cook, and had his dinner ſerved up upon plate. Inſtead of going on horſeback, like the reſt of his countrymen, he travelled and paraded about the ſtreets in a magnificent berlin. Heedleſs of his independence, and to the degradation of his dignity, he ſollicited a title in the ruſſian army; and accepted a captain's commiſſion in the preobaginſky guards; of which the uniform was ſent him, with the ribbon of St. Anne. Vaſſillieſky and Konſtantinoff, ruſſian agents, decorated with the title of miniſters plenipotentiary, were by turns the counſellors of this too confident prince; and thoſe who contributed moſt to his ruin. The Tartars loudly condemned his manner of life, and his attachment to Ruſſia; but, as he governed them with gentleneſs and equity, they aſcribed his deviations rather to the chriſtians than to himſelf.

In the mean time the Ruſſians were in want of a pretext for marching their troops into the Krimea. They ſtrove hard to foment ſome revolt, that the khan might implore their ſuccour, and ſurrender himſelf entirely to them. Money, preſents, miniſter counſels ſecretly ſpread by their emiſſaries, preſently raiſed him enemies even in his own family. Two of his brothers, one of whom, named Batti-Gueray, was governor

vernor of the Kuban, made an attempt to ſurpriſe him in the city of Keffa *, where he reſided, and forced him to fly for ſhelter to Taganrok. Immediately a ruſſian army marched to his relief. Potemkin haſted thither himſelf; and his name alone was ſufficient to awe Batti-Gueray, who ſent to inform him that he voluntarily diveſted himſelf of the power which he had uſurped.

The khan Sahim-Gueray now entered again the Krimea; and having called together the greater part of the tartar chiefs, he delivered up to them thirteen of the principal rebels, who were put to death on the ſpot. After which he ſaid:—"You ſee before you my two brothers "and myſelf: which of us will you have to "govern you? Name him freely. I will ſub-"ſcribe to your choice."—All the Tartars ſwore that they would have none but Sahim-Gueray.

This arrangement was not perhaps very agreeable to the court of Peterſburg; but, whatever courſe the Tartars ſhould have taken, its reſolution was already adopted; the Krimea was to be uſurped.

* The antient Theodoſia, or the Cimmerium of antiquity.

The

The empreſs immediately ſent off reinforcements to her armies in Poland and the Ukraine; and made every preparation that a ſpeedy declaration of war could require. She then wrote to her miniſter at Conſtantinople to demand far more extenſive advantages than thoſe which had been ſtipulated by the treaties; and to oblige the divan to promiſe, that, whatever might hereafter be the fate of the Krimea, it would not interfere. She did more; ſhe engaged the imprudent Sahim-Gueray to demand the ceſſion of Otchakof.

The divan was incenſed at all theſe pretenſions: but, feeble and diſunited, they feigned a deſire to go to war; yet murmured, inſtead of flying to arms. They, however, ſent a paſha to take poſſeſſion of the iſle of Taman. Sahim-Gueray, puſhed on by the Ruſſians, ſummoned the paſha to retire. Inſtead of obeying, the irritated paſha cauſed the envoy of the khan to be beheaded. The Ruſſians, pretending a determination to avenge the affront put upon that prince, requeſted him to grant them a paſſage for their troops to go and attack the Turks: but no ſooner were they entered his dominions, than, inſtead of proceeding againſt Taman, they fell back, and ſpread themſelves over all the peninſula, of which they eaſily became

maſters. General Balmain * took by ſurpriſe the town of Keffa, where the khan was, and forced the imams, the myrzas, and the other principal Tartars, to take the oath of allegiance to the empreſs.

During theſe tranſactions general Suvaroff had been employed in ſubduing the Tartars of the Kuban and the Budziaks. Prince Potemkin, who had advanced to the regions beyond the Kuban, was receiving the homage of ſultan Batti-Gueray and the hordes that roam about thoſe extenſive diſtricts.

The Ruſſians continued for ſome time to flatter the khan, and promiſed him a penſion of 800,000 rubles †. But both the prince and his country did not the leſs remain under the yoke.

Though this invaſion, executed in violation of every law of nations, and under ſanction of the ſacred names of avenging juſtice and protecting friendſhip, had not rouſed even ottoman indolence to arms, Catharine nevertheleſs publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify, in the eyes of Europe, the

* This officer is deſcended of a good family in North Britain.

† Previous to the conqueſt he had a revenue of three millions of rubles.

ſpoliation

ſpoliation of the unfortunate Sahim-Gueray, and to accuſe the Turks of having broke the treaty of Kainardgi.

The pacific diſpoſition of the porte, and the terms propoſed in conſequence of it, were of no avail in bringing about an accommodation with her two great and ambitious neighbours. Their demands appeared ſo exorbitant, that it became a queſtion, even with the wiſe and moderate, whether it were not better at once to put every thing to the hazard, than to be trained on through degrading conceſſions to a ſtate of imbecility, which would not leave them the means or ability of even rendering their power glorious. The demands made by Ruſſia were no leſs than the full poſſeſſion of the Krimea, the iſle of Taman, the Kuban and Budziak, with the fortreſs of Otchakof, and other ceſſions of leſs importance. On the part of the emperor, beſides ſmaller matters, was required the full reſtitution of all that had been ceded by the treaty of Belgrade, including that city itſelf, with a conſiderable part of the provinces of Valakhia, Servia, and Boſnia: theſe ceſſions to be followed by ſuch a demarcation of limits as would afford a ſatisfactory frontier for their future ſecurity; the free navigation of the Danube, and of the turkiſh ſeas, being in all caſes

to

to be conſidered as a preliminary, from which there was no receding.

All ſides prepared for the moſt deciſive hoſtility, and the preparations were immenſe on all. The year 1783 accordingly exhibited ſuch an apparatus of war on the northern and eaſtern borders of Europe, as had never before been beheld, even in thoſe martial regions. The Danube groaned, through the better part of his courſe, under the weight of the prodigious artillery, and the immenſe quantity of ammunition and proviſion, which the emperor forwarded from his hereditary ſtates to the frontiers. The troops, which he had already in Hungary and the adjoining provinces, were eſtimated at more than 130,000, and others were advancing from different quarters. The artillery that he now ſent to the frontiers, which were at all times well provided with that article, was eſtimated at more than 1500 pieces. Indefatigable in all his purſuits, he viſited Hungary and the adjoining provinces early in the ſummer, and examined perſonally the ſtate of the garriſons, magazines, lines, and armies.

The ruſſian forces were at the ſame time advancing through different parts of Poland, and through all the countries from the Don to the Dniepr, towards the ſcene of action. Their

prepara-

preparations were, as uſual, immenſe; that government never heſitating at any expence, with reſpect to labour, men, or the means of ſupply in war.

On the other hand, the porte had drawn great bodies of their aſiatic troops into Europe; ſo that their armies on the frontiers, or the approach to them, already exceeded 150,000 men. Their janiſſaries and european troops were in good condition; and their armies, in general, were better provided, and upon a much better footing, than they had been in the late war. They had procured a great number of european officers, particularly french, to come into their ſervice: among theſe were ſeveral engineers, and they were indefatigable in the improvement of their artillery, and in endeavouring to introduce the european modes of diſcipline, clothing, and arms, in their armies. The janiſſaries and ſoldiers ſhewed, upon this occaſion, a docility which had never been expected from them: indeed the bigotry and prejudices even of the common people were viſibly wearing away; ſo powerful are the effects which misfortunes, joined with the example of their rulers, can produce in the manners and tempers of men.

The capudan paſha, who was the life of all their military improvements, as well by land as on his own element, had formed ſuch a marine on the Euxine, as to be far ſuperior to the ruſſian naval force in that quarter. He had likewiſe a conſiderable fleet for the Archipelago and Mediterranean ſervice: but that was the ottoman weak ſide; and they ſeemed to dread Ruſſia more there than on any other.

A treaty of ſome ſort or other, either of commerce, alliance, or both, was about this time concluded between Spain and the porte. The object of this treaty on one ſide, was, an engagement entered into by the other, that no ruſſian fleet, beyond a certain ſpecified number, ſhould in future be permitted to enter the Mediterranean on terms of hoſtility. The porte, however, ſurrounded almoſt as ſhe was, by her formidable enemies, had ſtill one conſolation in reſerve. She knew, that, as France was now diſengaged from the war with England, ſhe would not be abandoned to abſolute deſtruction by all the weſtern powers. Nor was it to be ſuppoſed, that the king of Pruſſia, or even Sweden, could have been a ſilent or inactive ſpectator of ſo great an acceſſion of power, as the ſpoils of the ottoman empire would afford,

to

to their already too formidable neighbours. At all events, the porte prepared vigorouſly for war.

In regard to the tranſactions on the ſide of the Krimea and the different Tartaries, it appears that the Ruſſians had, in ſome part of the preceding year, entirely defeated the new khan of the Krimea, and obliged him to abandon the peninſula; that his party were either diſperſed or ſubdued; and that the conquerors had made themſelves maſters of all the conſiderable fortreſſes and ports of that country. That, beſides ſubduing the Kuban, and other neighbouring Tartars, they had extended their power over no ſmall part of the mountains of Caucaſus, towards the borders of Georgia and Armenia, the petty ſtates in thoſe parts becoming their vaſſals, under the name of receiving their protection. That Solomon, the chriſtian prince of Mingrelia, being reſtored to his principality, by their aſſiſtance, ſubmitted to the ſame ſtate of vaſſalage: which, in fact, was no more than changing his maſters; his country having been, from time immemorial, under a ſimilar ſubjection to the Turks. Prince Heraclius of Georgia, ever watchful of occaſions of advantage, having, during the late war, ſeized the double opportunity of the troubles in Perſia, and the weak-

neſs of the porte, to renounce his fealty to both powers, had of courſe entered into a ſtrict alliance with Ruſſia *.

This war in the Krimea had not proceeded without great difficulties. The ruſſian manifeſto, which was publiſhed as a juſtification to the world of her conduct in taking poſſeſſion of the Krimea, ſtates the expences of the war at twelve millions of rubles, (which does not fall far ſhort of three millions ſterling,) and ſeems to conſider that expence as a foundation for one of the empreſs's claim upon that country. The

* It is to be obſerved, that the ruſſian accounts have conſtantly miſrepreſented this buſineſs, they ſtating, that prince Heraclius, as well as Solomon, had, at his own deſire, become a vaſſal to the empreſs. The fact is however otherwiſe. Heraclius was too ſtrongly fortified in the faſtneſs of his country, and at too far a diſtance to be compelled to ſuch a meaſure; and he was too proud and too wiſe to become a ſlave without occaſion. He had, through the courſe of no ſhort life, bravely encountered, and fortunately ſurmounted, many and great dangers, to ſave or to free his country from the loweſt degradation of abject vaſſalage. He had happily ſucceeded in obtaining for it; and for himſelf (though by a precarious tenure) a freedom as perfect as unexpected. He could be little diſpoſed to reſign it now, who, through the weakneſs of his two ſuperior lords, even while he acknowledged their dominion, had for many years been in the habit of letting his fealty and allegiance hang very looſely about him.

ſame

ſame piece, in ſtating the loſs of lives upon the occaſion, obſerving that their value is ineſtimable, refrains accordingly from giving an account of the number.

In the mean time the ruſſian khan abdicated his throne, and transferred the ſuppoſed right to the dominion of his country to the empreſs. This was no leſs than an abſolute ſale of a people and their country, the khan receiving conſiderable eſtates in Ruſſia for the purchaſe. It ſeems remarkable, that neither this abdication nor purchaſe are ſpecified as affording any title or claim to Ruſſia upon the country; nor indeed are they at all taken notice of in the manifeſto publiſhed by the empreſs on the occaſion *.

In that piece, which is ſigned by her majeſty, and dated at St. Peterſburg on the 8th of April 1783, (although it did not make its appearance until late in the ſummer,) the Krimea, the Kuban, and the iſland of Taman, are declared to be for ever annexed to her dominions. It ſtates, that the great ſucceſſes which enabled Ruſſia to ſubdue the Krimea in the late war, and to have retained it, if ſhe had ſo choſen, at the peace, would have afforded her a full right to its dominion. But that, and many other con-

* Which the reader may ſee at large in the appendix at the end of the volume.

queſts, were ſacrificed to her deſire of eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity, and the friendſhip between the two empires, upon the moſt permanent foundations. That theſe motives had induced her to ſtipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, as the means of cutting off every poſſible cauſe of future diſſenſion.

The failure of this deſign, and all the ſubſequent troubles of the Krimea, are partly attributed to the ſecret inſinuations and conduct of a certain un-named, but well underſtood, power, in fomenting the diſcontents, partly to the reſtleſs temper of the tartar nation, and partly to their being ſo long accuſtomed to ſervitude, that the greater part of the people were incapable of underſtanding or enjoying the benefits of that freedom and independence which had been obtained for them. To indemnify Ruſſia for the expence of money and blood ſhe had already been at, to prevent ſimilar conſequences in future, for the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and to remove all cauſes of farther contention between the two empires, were held out to be the objects of the preſent meaſure. The Tartars were aſſured that they ſhould be placed upon an equality with the ancient ſubjects of Ruſſia, and that they ſhould enjoy the moſt abſolute

abſolute liberty of conſcience, with the full exerciſe of their public worſhip and religious ceremonies.

This manifeſto was anſwered by the porte in ſo maſterly a manner, both with reſpect to ſtyle and matter, that it might be conſidered as a model for ſuch documents. After pointing out, and ſeverely animadverting upon the encroaching diſpoſition and the over-ruling ſpirit of the court of Peterſburg, and examining and invalidating the pretended claims upon the Krimea, it proceeds to expoſe, in a very ſtriking point of view, that wantonneſs of power, and inordinacy of ambition, which could extend them to the Kuban, to the iſle of Taman, and to the ſovereignty of the Euxine. It puts the queſtion, What pretenſion of right can Ruſſia have to territories annexed for ages to the dominions of the porte? Would not ſuch claims, on any part of the ruſſian empire, be inſtantly repulſed. And can it be preſumed that the ſublime porte, however deſirous of peace, will acquieſce in wrong, which, however it may be diſguiſed by ambition under the colour of policy, reaſon and equity muſt deem abſolute uſurpation? What northern power has the porte offended? Whoſe territories have the ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the turkiſh

ſtandard diſplayed? Content with the boundaries of empire aſſigned by God and the prophet, the wiſhes of the porte are for peace: but, if the court of Ruſſia be determined in her claims, and will not recede, without acquiſitions of territory which do not belong to her, appealing to the world for the juſtice of its proceedings, the ſublime porte muſt prepare for war, relying on the decrees of heaven, and confident in the interpoſition of the prophet of prophets, that he will protect his faithful followers in the hour of every difficulty.

The porte, but little verſed in the art of reaſoning, and yet determined to reply to the empreſs's manifeſto, had recourſe to a chriſtian pen *, which eaſily proved the injuſtice of Catharine's pretenſions, and the perfidiouſneſs of her conduct: but of what avail are ſuch writings? The cauſes of ſovereigns are pleaded effectually only by the ſword; and for a long time the Turks were afraid to employ it, or employed it but badly againſt the Ruſſians.

Not doubting that the Turks would declare war againſt her, and being apprehenſive that Guſtavus III. might take advantage of the abſence of the ruſſian armies for attacking her

* The anſwer of the porte was attributed to ſir Robert Ainſlie, the engliſh miniſter at Conſtantinople.

in

in that quarter, Catharine formed the deſign of concluding a new treaty of alliance with that prince. She had already propoſed it to him ſeveral times, both by the miniſter whom he had at Peterſburg, and by that whom ſhe kept at Stockholm; but her attempts were without effect. She reſolved on having a ſecond interview with the ſwediſh monarch.

The place of appointment was fixed for Frederikſham, a ſmall town ſtrongly fortified on the gulph of Finland, and the laſt poſſeſſed by the Ruſſians on the ſide of Sweden. The empreſs repaired thither * in a yacht. She was attended by count Ivan Chernicheff, the miniſter Bezborodko, the grand écuyer Nariſhkin, the favourite Lanſkoï, and ſeveral ladies of the court; among whom were princeſs Daſhkoff, who for ſome time paſt had to all appearance regained the friendſhip of Catharine.

Guſtavus † had in his ſuit count Kreutz ‡, his firſt miniſter, general Armfeldt, Munck, and ſeveral other officers.

* The 29th of June.

Only a few day before, being at a review, he had his arm broke by a fall from his horſe.

‡ The ſame who had been ambaſſador in Spain and in France.

The

The empreſs had previouſly cauſed two contiguous houſes to be hired, which were furniſhed with great elegance, and between which a gallery of communication had been conſtructed. One of theſe was occupied by herſelf, the other ſerved as quarters to the king of Sweden; in ſuch manner, that during the four days that theſe two ſovereigns remained at Frederikſham, they might freely diſcourſe together as often as occaſion required *.

The peace had been ſigned ſome months before †. There was no longer any reaſon for keeping the neutrality of the north in arms; yet the empreſs being deſirous of it, Guſtavus conſented. She afterwards propoſed to that prince to remain neuter during the war with the Turks; and aſſured him, that after the termination of that war ſhe would aſſiſt him in gaining poſſeſſion of Norway. Flattered with this

* The empreſs, who was laviſh of her fine ſpeeches to the ſwediſh monarch, engaged Hoyer, a daniſh painter, to execute a picture, where that princeſs and Guſtavus III. are repreſented ſitting and converſing amicably together. The author of this hiſtory ſaw the original of this picture in the cabinet of the king of Sweden at Droningſholm; he likewiſe ſaw a copy of it at the painter Hoyer's houſe at Copenhagen.

† In the month of January.

hope,

hope, Guſtavus promiſed to comply with all that Catharine required; and they parted highly ſatisfied one with the other, and their minds filled with their different ſchemes of conqueſt.

Before ſhe quitted Frederikſham, the empreſs gave her portrait to count Kreutz, and teſtified her magnificence towards the ſwediſh officers. Guſtavus alſo made divers preſents to the ruſſian miniſters and courtiers. He decorated the favourite Lanſkoï with the order of the polar ſtar; and, on his return to Sweden, he ſent to princeſs Daſhkoff a diploma of member of the academy of Stockholm.

The porte was the leſs eager to make war, as the preparations of the Ruſſians ſeemed infallibly to aſſure them of victory. Seventy thouſand men, under the orders of prince Potemkin, were aſſembled on the frontiers of the Krimea. Prince Repnin was at the head of 40,000, in readineſs to back the former. Marſhal Romantzoff, with a third army, had his general quarters as Kief. The ſquadrons of the Euxine were armed; and ten ſail of the line, with ſeveral frigates, were only waiting the ſignal for proceeding from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

1784. The court of London, vexed that Ruſſia had appeared at the head of the armed neutrality,

neutrality, ſtrained every nerve to induce the divan to have recourſe to arms: but in vain. France and Auſtria prevented it. Inſtead of fighting, they took the better mode of negotiation. By a new treaty, ſigned at Conſtantinople, between the ruſſian plenipotentiary Bulgakoff and the miniſters of the grand ſignior, the empreſs retained the ſovereignty of the Krimea, of the iſle of Taman, and a great part of the Kuban; and the Turks acknowledged the right which ſhe pretended inconteſtibly to have to the dominion of the Euxine, and to the paſſage of the Dardanelles. Thus Catharine acquired, without the neceſſity of going to war, a vaſt territory, and 1,500,000 new ſubjects.

The empreſs reſtored their antient names to the Krimea and to the Kuban. The former of theſe countries was called Tavrida, and the other Caucaſus *.

The

* Which never fail to remind us of the old ſtories of the grecian hiſtory: Iphigenia in Tauris; the race-ground of Achilles; the cities Pantikapæum, Boſphorus, Tanais; and of the chained Prometheus, the tribes of Caucaſus and Circaſſia, ſtill famous for the beauty of its ladies. The territory of the Krimea is larger than the kingdom of Pruſſia was at that time (that is, Eaſt and Weſt Pruſſia and the Netz diſtrict); has a rich ſoil, but is poor in people. Catharine herſelf brought away in 1779 the numerous Greeks that

The example of Sahim-Gueray might have taught the other princes to dread the cruel protection of Ruſſia: but the preſents of prince Potemkin dazzled the eyes of ſome of them. Heraclius, ſovereign of Kartalinia and Kakhetti, who had formerly borne arms under the famous Thamas Kouli-khan, and fought in the laſt war of the Ruſſians againſt the Turks, performed homage to Catharine for his dominions.

Solomon, ſultan of Immeritia and Georgia, was alſo, as we have ſeen, purſued by the courteous intrigues and the treacherous benefits of the empreſs and the favourite. Brave and haughty, he at firſt reſolutely perſiſted in depending entirely on his ſcymetar; but a mound of gold, a crown, and oſtentatious promiſes, reduced him to ſlavery. Shortly after this he died; and ſultan David his ſon was incapable of imitating him, except in his weakneſſes.

Potemkin did not invade the country of the Zaporavians; but, ever combining artifice with force, he carried off 60,000 of theſe kozaks, and ſent them into the Krimea, where he

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that inhabited the ſouthern part of the peninſula into her own country; though they have not been very proſperous in their new diſtricts; at that time, therefore, ſhe ſeems to have had no thoughts of taking poſſeſſion of it.

founded

founded thoſe colonies which at preſent furniſh ſailors to the ſquadrons of the Euxine, and eſpecially to the galley-fleet of Nicolaeff.

While employed in extending the empire of his ſovereign, prince Potemkin was not unmindful of his perſonal intereſts. Though proprietor of immenſe eſtates in different provinces of Ruſſia, he ſtill acquired a part of the rich domains which the princes Lubomirſky and Sapieha had poſſeſſed in Podolia and Lithuania. His enemies thought that he was providing for a retreat into Poland: but, whatever were his intentions, never did his favour appear ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, never had he been attached to Ruſſia by ſo many titles and employments. The empreſs honoured him with the ſurname of Tavritſcheſky *, gave him the government of Tavrida, with the rank of grand admiral of the Euxine, and built for him the magnificent palace in Peterſburg which bears the name of Tavritſcheſky.

This ſuperb edifice, the Taurian Palace, conſiſts properly of only a ground floor; but the body of the building, the wings whereof extend to a prodigious length, has over the portal two ſtories, ſupported by columns, which are covered

* The Taurian.

at

at top by a grand cupola. The entrance of the main building leads into an open ſpace, in which on both ſides lodging-rooms project. Through this is the grand entrance into a quadrangular veſtibule, ſurrounded by columns of extraordinary magnitude, and lighted from above by the windows of the ſecond ſtory. A gallery at a conſiderable height runs round it, for the orcheſtra, which is alſo provided with an organ. From this veſtibule the ſpectator proceeds into the grand hall, through a double row of columns. If it be poſſible by verbal deſcription to excite the impreſſion which the ſight of this temple of gigantic architecture produces, it can only be done by the moſt artleſs and ſimple repreſentation. Let the reader then figure to himſelf a hall upwards of 100 paces in length, proportionably broad, having the roof ſupported by a double colonnade of coloſſal pillars. At about half the height between theſe pillars are boxes, ornamented with ſilk curtains and feſtoons. In the paſſage formed by the double rows of pillars, hang at ſtated diſtances large cryſtal luſtres from London, the lights of which are reflected by a mirror of uncommon ſize at each end of the room. The room itſelf has neither ornaments nor furniture, it being only deſigned for grand entertainments: but, in the two ſemicircles which

which terminate the colonnades, ſtand two vaſes of carrara marble, which, by their extraordinary magnitude and the excellence of the workmanſhip, correſpond with the grandeur and magnificence of the whole. Now let the reader, with his intellectual compaſſes, ſtrike out a ſemicircle from one end of this great colonnade to the other, on the ſide facing the veſtibule by which he entered, and this will incloſe the winter-garden, of itſelf an enormous building; the roof of which being too large to ſupport itſelf without columns, theſe are made to reſemble palm trees. The warmth is kept up by numerous flues in the walls and columns, and leaden pipes with hot water run in various ramifications under ground beneath the parterres and graſs plots. The walks of this garden lead between flowery ſhrubs and fruit-bearing hedges, in ſerpentine directions over little hills, and to a variety of bowers, occaſioning at every ſtep ſome new ſurpriſe. The eye, when weary of the luxurious mixture of gaudy colours in the vegetable world, recreates itſelf in contemplating the choiceſt productions of art. Here a grecian head invites our admiration; there the attention is fixed by a motley collection of rare fiſhes in cryſtal vaſes. We turn from theſe objects to enter a grotto of mirror-glaſs, which reflects the trees, and plants, and ſtatues,

and

and flowers in multiplied diverſity, or to gaze at the ſingular mixture of colours in the faces of a mirror-obeliſk. The genial warmth, the odour of the nobler plants, the voluptuous ſilence that reign in this enchanting garden, lull the fancy into ſweet romantic dreams: we think ourſelves in the groves of Italy, while torpid nature, through the windows of this pavilion, announces the ſeverity of a northen winter.—In the centre of this bold creation ſtands on an elevated pedeſtal the ſtatue of Catharine II. of carrara marble, with the attributes of legiſlatrix. — On the death of prince Potemkin the empreſs adopted this as her autumnal palace; for which purpoſe the left wing was lengthened by taking in the whole ſide of a ſtreet. In making the neceſſary alterations 1500 men were employed, who continued their work in the night by the light of torches, that it might be ready for the coming autumn. Compare the foregoing deſcription of the winter-garden with that of the climate of Ruſſia *.

In proportion as the number of thoſe who had long been in her ſervice diminiſhed, Catharine doubtleſs was the better able to judge of their value. She loſt now the two principal

* In our preliminaries, vol. i. p. 7, 8, & ſeq. — See Storch's "Gemælde von St. Peterſburg."

chiefs of the conſpiracy that had placed her on the throne. Count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin and prince Gregory Orloff died almoſt at the ſame time, one at Peterſburg, the other at Moſco.

Panin died of grief and chagrin, a fatal malady to which diſcarded miniſters are very liable*. From the moment when Potemkin reſiſted him in the council and deprived him of the management of affairs, he began viſibly to decline, and was a ſtranger to all repoſe of mind but what he looked for in death.

Prince Orloff cloſed his term of life in a ſtill more tremendous manner. Though he remained in poſſeſſion of the benefits which the empreſs had heaped upon him, and was the huſband of a young and handſome wife, the preſence of the new favourites was inſupportable to him. He paſſed almoſt all the latter years of his life in travelling. In 1782 he ſtopped at Lauſanne, where he had the misfortune to loſe

* Count Panin died the 31ſt of March 1783, and left behind him the character of an honeſt well-meaning man. At his death his eſtates were ſold for 173,000 rubles, which was not ſufficient to pay his debts. Many inſtances of his generoſity are well known: of 9000 boors once preſented him by the empreſs, he gave 4000 among three of his ſecretaries in the department of foreign affairs.

his wife, which threw him into a deep melancholy. He immediately returned to court, but it was only to preſent to his former friends the ſad ſpectacle of his inſanity. At one moment he delivered himſelf up to an extravagant gaiety *, which made the courtiers laugh: then, burſting out into reproaches againſt the empreſs, he ſtruck terror and amazement into all that heard him, and plunged the monarch herſelf in the bitterneſs of grief. At length he was forced to retire to Moſco. There his remorſe revived with tenfold fury. The bleeding ſhade of Peter III. purſued him into every retreat; haunted his affrighted mind by day, and ſcared him in the viſions of the night; he beheld it inceſſantly aiming at him an avenging dart, and he expired in the agonies of deſpair †.

* When Gregory Orloff was all-powerful at court, he frequently called Catharine by the diminutive of her name, *Kattinka* or *Katouſchka*. After his return from his firſt travels, he retained this habit. He had brought with him from Holland a ſort of doctor, or rather a buffoon, named Janijoſſy, who took the ſame liberty. The empreſs was at times ſubject to fits of low ſpirits, of which this phyſician pretended to cure her; and when he found her in a dull humour, he would ſay, "Kattinka, we muſt be cheerful "in order to be well, and we muſt walk in order to be "cheerful."—Then, giving her his arm he walked with her about the gardens of the palace.

† In the month of April 1783.

In the former period of his favour, Gregory Orloff had received of the empreſs a medallion ſurrounded with brilliants, on which was the portrait of that princeſs, and he wore it at his button-hole. After the death of the prince, count Vladimir Orloff came to Peterſburg to preſent this miniature to the ſovereign, who returning it to him, bade him give it to his brother Alexèy, whom ſhe permitted to wear it. Surely an awful preſent!

Alexius Orloff reſided at Moſco at the time of the empreſs's death. Who would have thought that the ſequel to the revolution of 1762 was to be acted in 1797? The new emperor Paul Petrovitch, on coming to the crown, cauſed the corpſe of his father Peter III. after ſo many years had elapſed ſince its interment in the church of the monaſtery of St. Alexander Nefsky, to be taken up and brought to the palace, in order to pay it ſimilar honours with thoſe to be ſhewn the defunct empreſs his wife. In the printed ceremonial, prince Baratinſky and count Alexèy Orloff were to ſtand one on each ſide the corpſe of Peter as *chief mourners*. That unfortunate monarch having omitted the ceremony of coronation, the imperial crown was fetched

fetched from Moſco, and placed upon his coffin as it lay beſide that of the empreſs, and over both a kind of true-love-knot, with this inſcription in ruſs: "Divided in life, united in death." The two chief mourners took their ſtation in preſence of the aſſembled court amid ſable cloaks, black hangings, lighted tapers, and all the ſolemnity of imperial woe. Count Alexèy, being bleſſed with ſtrong nerves and much uſage of the world, ſtood out the doleful ſcene; while prince Baratinſky, with a heart of finer mould, fainted under the weight of grief: and it was only by the repeated application of volatile ſalts and other ſtimulants, that he could be made to ſupport his ſtation during the three hours appointed by the ceremonial. Count Orloff, afterwards, received permiſſion, without aſking for it, to viſit foreign parts; and prince Baratinſky was ſpared the trouble in future of paying his attendance at court.

It happened in 1780, or thereabouts, that, after preſenting ſome travellers at court, the engliſh miniſter and his countrymen were honoured by her majeſty's converſation; during which ſhe ſaid, in her lively manner, and pointing to prince Baratinſky, who ſtood pretty near her: "Voila un homme qui m'a rendu le plus grand

" ſervice dans le moment le plus critique de " ma vie." At hearing this, all preſent were filled with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, as the particulars of the revolution made one of thoſe *ſecrets* which every body knows; and it would have for ever remained liable to a wrong interpretation, if her majeſty had not almoſt immediately added, that, in ſtepping out of her carriage, her foot twiſted at the ancle, and if prince Baratinſky had not caught her at that inſtant, ſhe muſt have fallen on her face to the ground. This little anecdote, trifling in itſelf, ſeems to afford matter in evidence that ſhe was ignorant of the manner of her huſband's death as generally believed. Otherwiſe it can ſcarcely be imagined that a perſon of her preſence of mind would have hazarded for a moment ſo ambiguous an expreſſion.

CHAP. XIII.

Relations of Ruſſia with Perſia, with China, and with Japan. — The empreſs reſolves to defend the rights of Joſeph II. over the Scheldt. — Adventure of the grand duke at Gatſhina. — Death of Lanſkoi. — Marriage of prince Potemkin. — Yermoloff becomes favourite. — League of the electors. — Treaty of commerce with France. — Dinner of Tolcration. — Momonoff ſucceeds Yermoloff. — The empreſs purchaſes the libraries of Voltaire and of d'Alembert. — 1784, 1785, 1786.

THE vicinity of the Caſpian invites the Ruſſians to trade with Perſia; and by Perſia they can eaſily proſecute a commerce with India. Accordingly, they have long profited by this advantage. Tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, who in a manner prepared the reign of his ſon Peter I. as Philip had prepared that of Alexander, cauſed ſome ſmall veſſels to be built by his dutch carpenters *, with which he protected the commerce carried on by his ſubjects with

* About the year 1660.

the inhabitants of the provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderan.

Peter I. whoſe genius favoured every thing that was grand or uſeful, extended theſe relations ſtill farther, and eſtabliſhed a counting-houſe at Schamachy, a rich and commercial town, which is ſaid to have been the antient abode of Cyrus *. Perſia was at that time a prey to a number of petty rebellious tyrants, who, taking advantage of the quarrels between the uſurper Mahmoud † and the feeble Schah-Huſſein ‡, pillaged and ravaged thoſe delighted countries. The Leſghis, a race of Tartars who are the ancient Albanians, ruſhed down from mount Caucaſus, made themſelves maſters of Schamachy, and maſſacred the ruſſian merchants with the other inhabitants.

Juſtly incenſed at this outrage, Peter demanded juſtice of its authors: but either from inability or inſolence, ſatisfaction was denied him. From that moment he reſolved to ſeek

* He is called Kur-khan by the Tartars and Perſians, who relate many particulars concerning that prince, unknown to the hiſtories in uſe among us. Some pretend that he had his name from the river Kur.

† Son of the barbarian Mirveïtz.

‡ Schah, or Schach, ſignifies *ſovereign*. Sophi is not a title; it is the name of a family, which traces back its origin to Tamerlane.

his

his own revenge, and by taking advantage of the troubles in Perſia, to gain poſſeſſion of the whole weſtern coaſt of the Caſpian. He embarked * on that ſea, ſailed as far as the town of Andréof, landed and proceeded to lay ſiege to Derbent, capital of the Dageſtan. Derbent †, a fortified town of conſiderable length, and taking its name from having formerly an iron gate, made no greater reſiſtance then than it ſince did in our times, when attacked by Valerian Zuboff ‡. The troops of Peter I. were victorious not only at Derbent, but before the opulent town of Bachtu; and three provinces remained ſubmiſſive to the Ruſſians, till they were afterwards re-conquered by Thamas Koulikhan.

The interruption of the commerce of the Ruſſians with Perſia laſted for ſome time. It was not till 1744 that it was revived by the Engliſh, who obtained of the empreſs Elizabeth permiſſion to navigate the Caſpian. By this navigation they procured great quantities of fine ſilks, cotton, and the other valuable commodities the growth and manufacture of Perſia.

* In 1722. — See the hiſtory of Peter the great.

† Derbent, or Iron-gate, is called by the Turks Demir-Cadi.

‡ In the year 1796.

They

They eſtabliſhed a factory at Meſchek; they travelled with the caravans as far as the Greater Tartary, to Samarkand, and to Bolkara.

The appearance of the engliſh flag upon the Caſpian gave umbrage to the famous Thamas Kouli-khan: but, unable to contend with it, that artful tyrant came to the reſolution of depriving the Ruſſians of its aſſiſtance. In order to effect this, he gained over the captains Elton and Woodroffe*, who had under their command the engliſh veſſels, and they entered into his ſervice.

Elton, on being made admiral by Thamas Kouli-khan, cauſed ſhips of war to be conſtructed, with which he forced the ruſſian veſſels to ſalute the perſian flag, and to acknowledge its ſuperiority. The empreſs Elizabeth, having information of this proceeding, immediately revoked the permiſſion which ſhe had granted to the engliſh company, and ſought means of avenging herſelf on Thamas Kouli-khan, by raiſing him up enemies among his own ſoldiers. Shortly afterwards, this conqueror, while preparing to make a deſcent on Ruſſia, was aſſaſſinated, during his ſleep, in the plains of Mogan.

* It is to theſe two navigators that we are indebted for the only good map that has ever been made of the Caſpian.

From

From that time the Perſians, being involved in freſh troubles, thought no more about the affairs of the Caſpian; and all their ſhips were deſtroyed by the Ruſſians.

By the treaty of commerce renewed with the court of London in 1766, Catharine reſtored to the Engliſh the privileges of which they had been deprived by Elizabeth. But, whether from want of confidence, or whether on account of the confuſions that were ſecretly raiſed among them, they were never able to make that trade ſo profitable as their firſt company had done.

The Ruſſians then are almoſt the only people who derive any great advantage from the commerce of the Caſpian. With about 100 veſſels of between 40 and 80 tons burden, they go and fetch ſilk and cotton from Ghilan, carpets and fine ſtuffs from the other provinces, carrying in exchange to the Perſians, iron, ſteel, and furs.

Independently of this traffic, the Ruſſians carry on a conſiderable fiſhery on the Caſpian. In that ſea they take the ſhamai, a fiſh reſembling the herring, and the koſſa, greatly ſuperior in flavour to the roach of the ocean *. They

* The fiſh of the Caſpian is of a taſte far more delicate than that of other ſeas. This ſuperiority is attributed to the quality of the waters, which is bitter and not ſalt.

alſo

alſo take great numbers of ſea-dogs, the ſkins of which they ſell to the Engliſh and the Dutch, making uſe of the fat in the preparation of ſoap.

The rivers of Perſia alſo ſupply the Ruſſians with great quantities of thoſe fiſh whence the caviar * is made; a grand article of commerce,

* Caviar, by the Ruſſians called *ikra*, an article of ſo much conſequence to the induſtry and to the palates of the Ruſſians, is prepared in the parts about the Volga, the Ural, and the Caſpian, of the roes of ſturgeons, ſterlets, ſevrugas, and ſitrinas. The lump of roe is the firſt thing taken out after cutting up the fiſh. A large beluga will yield about five pood of roe; but which, on account of the quantity of viſcous matter mixed with it, is not much eſteemed. From a ſturgeon never more than 30 pound has been taken, and from the ſevruga only 10 or 12. As of the beluga-roe five eggs weigh a grain, ſo a large beluga has ſix or ſeven millions of eggs. The different treatment of the roe determines the different quality of the caviar. The firſt ſpecies is the preſſed caviar. To this purpoſe the roes are only cleanſed from the coarſeſt ſtrings and fibres, ſalted with two pound of ſalt to the pood, and ſpread out to dry in the air. This preparation in fair weather requires about ſix hours, and in cloudy weather at moſt a day. It is now immediately put into tubs. To make this ſort for ſale, it is common to take the ſpoiled roes of dead fiſh thrown upon the ſhore, or ſuch as are too greaſy for other ſorts, and even the fragments and offals that would not paſs through the ſieve for the finer kinds, ſalt it in boxes, and then tread it down in tight tubs. Such caviar coſts in Aſtrakhan

merce, and without which ſcarcely any eatables are ſerved in the north.

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Aſtrakhan half a ruble the pood. — The ſeaſoned or grainy ſort is better than this. When the roe is cleanſed from the coarſer particles, it is ſhaken into long troughs, ſalted with eight or ten pounds to the pood, and well mixed with it. It is now brought to the ſieve or ſtretched net-work, through which it is ſqueezed, in order that the remaining fibrous parts may be completely ſeparated; then, like the former, it is preſſed in tubs. The pood coſts between one and two rubles; and this ſort is the uſual food of the common people during the lents or faſts enjoined by the religion of the country: but it is too ſalt for the taſte of every one. The beſt ſort is the ſack-caviar, for the cleanlineſs of its preparation and its exquiſite reliſh. After being cleanſed it is ſteeped in brine, till the grains are quite ſoft. It is then hung up in long pointed bags, like jelly-bags, about half a pood in each, and brine again poured in upon it. When this is all drained off, the bag is wrung between the hands till all the moiſture is out. It is then ſet to dry twelve hours in the bag; after which it is trod down in tubs by a labourer in leathern ſtockings. This ſort requires the roe to be quite freſh, and is the deareſt, coſting two rubles the pood, and upwards. In winter the roe is eaten entirely freſh; and a great dainty it is. In general, the ſtandard for good caviar is, the leſs ſalt the better; but likewiſe the leſs time will it keep. The beſt caviar, as well as the beſt iſinglaſs, comes from the rival Ural, where the kozaks have the beſt method of preparing them. Formerly the trade in caviar was a monopoly of the crown; and in Peter the firſt's time the contract brought him 80,000 rubles, in the middle

of

The fleet maintained in the Caſpian by Catharine was conſtructed of oaks from Kaſan *, and conſiſted of three frigates, five corvettes, and a bomb-boat. Theſe veſſels were continually cruiſing along the coaſts of Perſia, and burnt all the ſhips, and even all the floats of timber which they happened to meet. Their commanders had beſides poſitive orders to ſow diſcord between the ſeveral khans, and always to ſupport the weaker againſt the more ſtrong; a method which the empreſs had found too ſucceſsful both in Poland and in the Krimea, to admit of her neglecting it in behalf of the Perſians.

In 1782 that princeſs adopted the reſolution of executing the project formed by Peter I.

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of the preſent century 100,000. At preſent it is free. In the year 1764 the quantity exported amounted to 48,000 rubles, in 1768 only to 41,000. In later years the quantity exported has been more various than that of iſinglaſs. In the year 1778 it amounted to 2758 pood, in 1783 to 10,706 pood, in 1786 to 2476 pood, in 1788 to 15,441 pood. Caviar goes moſtly to Italy, (preſſed, of courſe, becauſe of the voyage,) where it is eaten by the rich in faſt-time. In Germany alſo, with the increaſe of luxury, it is now much more in requeſt than it was 30 years ago, when a phyſician in a publication called it a delicacy almoſt unknown.

* The environs of Aſtrakhan furniſh none at all.

againſt

againſt Perſia, by extending her dominion on the weſtern ſhores of the Caſpian. The diſſenſions which continued to lay waſte thoſe fertile regions ſeemed to favour her ambitious views. But ſhe met with ſome obſtacles which ſhe had not expected.

The moſt powerful of the tyrants of Perſia was at that time the khan Aga-Mahmed. Sprung from one of the firſt families of the Koraſſan, Aga-Mahmed was ſtill in his cradle when his father and his brothers were ſtrangled by order of Thamas Kouli-khan *. The conqueror contented himſelf with taking precautions to prevent this infant from ever perpetuating his race: but Aga-Mahmed nevertheleſs, like the eunuch Narſes, became a warrior, and a ſtateſman.

After the death of Thamas Kouli-khan, the mother of Aga-Mahmed married again, and had ſeveral other children, who became the determined enemies of their brother. One of them, Murtuza Kouli-khan, thinking to procure powerful ſuccours from Ruſſia, appeared to be, with the utmoſt ſervility, devoted to that cabinet. But, in ſpite of Murtuza, in ſpite of Abulfat, ſon of Kerim-khan the laſt ruler; in ſhort, in ſpite of all his rivals, Aga-Mahmed

* It was about the year 1738.

had

had the ſkill to render himſelf maſter of the Ghilan, the Mazanderan, the Schirvan, and ſeveral other provinces.

The empreſs gave orders to count Voïnovitch *, commander of her ſquadron on the Caſpian, to employ all poſſible means for forming ſome eſtabliſhments on the perſian coaſts.

In July 1781, Voïnovitch ſailed with four frigates and two armed ſloops from Aſtrakhan, having on board the neceſſary troops and ammunition, and, after ſtopping to examine the iſlands of Shiloy and Ogutzin, which he found to be barren ſands and rocks, repaired to Aſterabat, the beſt port of the Mazanderan, which is the ancient country of the Mardi. Aga-Mahmed then reſided at Ferabat; where Voïnovitch preſented him his requeſt for permiſſion to eſtabliſh a counting-houſe on the coaſt. The khan, conſidering perhaps that he was not able to drive away the Ruſſians by force of arms, or rather chooſing to employ artifice againſt them, pretended to accede to the deſires of Voïnovitch.

* Count Mark Voïnovitch was a Sclavonian by birth. Eight years after his expedition into Perſia, he ſerved in the Euxine in quality of commodore: but, happening to diſpleaſe prince Potemkin, he made him lay aſide the ruſſian uniform, and diſmiſſed him with diſgrace.

The

The Ruſſians immediately ſet about conſtructing a fortreſs to defend the harbour, at the diſtance of about 50 miles from the city of Aſterabat, which they furniſhed with eighteen guns; whereof Aga-Mahmed being informed, continued his diſſimulation, but was reſolved to give them a check. He came to look at the fortreſs, admired the building, praiſed the activity of the Ruſſians, and invited himſelf to dine, with his attendants, on board the frigate of Voïnovitch.

After having merrily ſpent the day, and teſtified great friendſhip for the Ruſſians, the khan engaged them in return to come and take a dinner at one of his country-ſeats among the mountains. Thither they repaired the ſucceeding day. But they had no ſooner entered his houſe, than Aga-Mahmed cauſed them to be put in irons; at the ſame time threatening Voïnovitch to have his head cut off, and to ſerve all his officers in the ſame manner, unleſs the fortreſs was immediately razed to the ground.

Voïnovitch, who plainly ſaw that all reſiſtance would be fruitleſs, ſigned an order, which was carried to the commandant of the fort. The cannons were re-ſhipped, and the wall broke down. This done, Aga-Mahmed ordered the ruſſian officers into his preſence; and, not ſatiſ-

fied with loading them with ſcornful and injurious language, he delivered ſeveral of them over to his ſlaves; who, after inflicting on them every ſort of indignity, were commanded to drive them and their companions with ſcourges to their ſhips.

The court of Peterſburg revenged itſelf no otherwiſe for theſe affronts than by continuing to foment the diſſenſions that were raging in Perſia. Its agents there raiſed up againſt Aga-Mahmed a rival, who ſpeedily became the moſt formidable of his enemies, and took from him the province of Ghilan. This conqueror, who was called Ghedahed-khan, profiting by the arms and ammunition ſecretly conveyed to him by the Ruſſians, ſeemed ready to deſpoil Aga-Mahmed of all his power. But the latter, finding means to corrupt the Ruſſian agent Tomanoffsky, and the conſul Skilitch, both reſiding at Sinſili, they betrayed Ghedahed-khan, and delivered him to Aga-Mahmed, who cauſed him to be beheaded, and became once more the quiet poſſeſſor of the Ghilan.

In the mean time the Ruſſians affected publicly to take no part in theſe quarrels. Some time after the death of Ghedahed-khan, Prince Potemkin commiſſioned one of his officers to go and compliment Aga-Mahmed, who was then

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at Riatſch, the capital of the Ghilan; recommending him, at the ſame time, to ſtudy the character of the khan, and to found his intentions in regard to Ruſſia. The officer repaired to Riatſch, and eaſily obtained an audience of Aga-Mahmed. But, on converſing with him, he perceived him to look gloomy and thoughtful; which cauſed him to ſuſpect ſome ſiniſter deſign. Upon this, he artfully obſerved, that although he was in the ſervice of Ruſſia, he was born an Engliſhman, and that his nation was ſtrongly attached to the Perſians, with whom it carried on an extenſive commerce in the gulph of Baſſora. Suddenly the khan aſſumed a ſmiling air, ſpoke to the envoy in a gentle tone, and diſmiſſed him with preſents.

Theſe reciprocal teſtimonies of falſe good-will were followed by a prompt aggreſſion. Murtuza-Kouli-khan, ſupported by the Ruſſians, attempted to make a new incurſion into the Ghilan; but he was repulſed by khan Solyman, who commanded there in the abſence of Aga-Mahmed; and this latter loſt no time in bending every effort to the entire ſubjugation of Perſia and Georgia*. Nor was he content with this: inheriting the projects of the formi-

* The Ruſſians have ſince made themſelves maſters of Georgia and Circaſſia.

dable Shah-Nadir, he wanted to make himſelf maſter of the province of Aſtrakhan, and ſhut up the Caſpian from the Ruſſians. But how could he effect this, unleſs the Turks would act in concert with him? And have ever the Turks been able thoroughly to concur with an ally in hoſtilities againſt their enemies?

The ſpringing up of a new prophet in the upper Aſia (an inſtance of ambition under a different character) might, at certain periods, have been conſidered as the indication of ſome extraordinary revolution in the eaſtern world. But the general diſpoſition of things in the preſent day is far from being favourable to the growth, in any degree, of ſuch impoſtures; and even in thoſe regions, which ſeemed at all times to have been peculiarly adapted by nature or circumſtance to the production of fanatical enthuſiaſm, checks and difficulties now occur, which prevent the former dangerous and wonderful effects from taking place.

The ſheich Manſour pretended that he was pre-doomed by the eternal and immutable decrees of heaven, to fill up the meaſure of divine revelation to mankind; that as he was the laſt prophet that ever was to appear, ſo he was to cloſe up and to affix the ſeal to the ordinances of providence; that he was not ſent to ſubvert

the inſtitutes and doctrine of Mohammed, whoſe miſſion was equally divine with his own, but to reſtore them to their original purity, with ſuch additions and alterations as the preſent ſtate of things rendered neceſſary; that the foreknown corruptions of mankind, and of the text and doctrines of Mohammed, had occaſioned his being predeſtined from the beginning to this great and important office. As the reform of mankind was to be now general and complete, and that the obſtinacy of many infidels was too incorrigible to be wrought upon by perſuaſion, or even by miracle, ſo, in imitation of his great prototype, he adopted the uſe of the ſword, as well as of the ſpirit, for the accompliſhment of that great work. He aſſumed greater powers, as the laſt prophet, than had been communicated to the former, or to any other; for it is to be remembered, that the ſcriptures, eſpecially the old, form much of the ground-work for all mohammedan reformers and prophets.

The wide and deſolate regions bordering on the Caſpian were, from various cauſes, particularly their remoteneſs, the weakneſs and diverſity of their governments, with the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the people, the beſt choſen ſcene for the new prophet's exhibition that perhaps the world in the preſent times could have

afforded. He had accordingly made conſiderable progreſs in his undertaking before he was heard of at Conſtantinople, and then he was repreſented as being already at the head of a multitude of armed enthuſiaſts, and that he intended nothing leſs than the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed religion. In the preſent convulſed and diſordered ſtate of the empire, this intelligence could not but cauſe much alarm to the porte: they were not ignorant of the effect which a pretended revelation from heaven might produce in countries ſo prone to religious deluſion; and they knew that the reſtleſs temper of theſe barbarous nations rendered them at all times ready to follow any leader, without even the pretence of religion, who held out to them proſpects of war and ſpoil. The innumerable ſects into which the mohammedan religion is ſplit, and the extraordinary opinions held by many of them, ſeemed likewiſe to open the way for any bold innovator, who pretended to new lights and an extraordinary ſanctity, to accompliſh a dangerous revolution.

Orders were accordingly diſpatched to the turkiſh commanders in Armenia and the adjoining countries, to be ſtudiouſly upon their guard againſt the deſigns of the impoſtor; and at the ſame time that they narrowly watched his motions

tions and conduct, and endeavoured to penetrate into his real character and deſigns, to abſtain from any wanton outrage againſt him or his followers. Turkiſh divines and theologians were likewiſe commiſſioned to confer with him, to inquire into his religious opinions, and particularly into the objects of his pretended miſſion. The remoteneſs of the ſcene, with the difficulties of communication and of obtaining intelligence in theſe waſte and wide countries, whoſe limits are ſcarcely known by their immediate rulers, occaſioned long and anxious expectation at Conſtantinople for the reſult of theſe inquiries. It however at length appeared, that the prophet had given full ſatisfaction to the deputed divines on the ſubject of religion, and the orthodoxy of his principles: but what was of infinitely more importance than his religious tenets, it was at the ſame time diſcovered, that all the military fury of his zeal was directed againſt the chriſtians, they being the infidels, whoſe converſion being hopeleſs, rendered their extermination neceſſary.'

This intelligence was ſoon farther confirmed, by the new ſaint's commencing, at the head of his followers, a fierce war againſt the Georgians; and they being allied with the Ruſſians, and his enmity being directed equally againſt all chriſtians, this original object of alarm ſoon be-

came an uſeful inſtrument of the turkiſh government. For he founded the alarm among the Leſghis, and all the other nations of caucaſean Tartars, (who have in all ages been among the fierceſt, braveſt, and moſt independent of mankind,) of the danger to which their religion and liberties were expoſed, through the power and near approach of the Ruſſians; and thus contributed to the forming of a general combination againſt them, at a time when the porte, from the critical ſituation of her affairs, however dangerous and fatal ſhe knew their progreſs in that quarter would be to her intereſts and ſafety, could not venture to make any direct oppoſition to their deſigns.

The commerce carried on by the Ruſſians with China was not leſs beneficial than that of the Caſpian. It is now about 130 years * ſince the Siberians and the Bukharians firſt ſet up the caravans, which, croſſing chineſe Tartary, carried their commodities as far as Pekin. Theſe conſiſted in furs, for which they received in exchange gold, ſilver, precious ſtones †, ſtuffs, tea,

* Towards the year 1653.—The caravans employed three years in going to Pekin, ſtopping there and returning to Tobolſk.

† The largeſt ruby that is known to be in the world was brought from China to prince Gargarin, governor of Siberia.

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tea, and all thoſe objects invented by the Chineſe, and to which their induſtry, often fantaſtical, has given ſo great a degree of perfection.

The arrogance and ill conduct of the Ruſſians ſoon cauſed them to be denied acceſs to China. They were no longer allowed to traffic beyond the frontiers of that empire; their commerce was at ſeveral periods interrupted and reſumed: at length, ſome time before the death of the empreſs Elizabeth, freſh quarrels brought on a new ſuſpenſion.

Catharine ſaw the neceſſity of reviving this commerce, and accordingly made propoſals to the emperor of China; which were agreed to by that prince, who in 1780 appointed the little town of Kiachta to be the common rendezvous to the ruſſian and chineſe merchants. The empreſs, at the ſame time, ſent an archimandrite from Moſco, with ſeveral young Ruſſians to go to Pekin to ſtudy the chineſe language.

She alſo ſet on foot ſeveral maritime expeditions to Kamtſhatka. After the example of the Engliſh, who make voyages for the ſake of purchaſing furs on the north-weſtern coaſt of

It came afterwards into the hands of prince Mentchikoff, and is at preſent one of the ornaments of the imperial crown. See the hiſtory of Peter the great.

America,

America, ſeveral ruſſian veſſels proceeded to China; where they traded with ſucceſs.

There was yet another country with which Catharine was deſirous of having commercial connections. The northern coaſts of Ruſſia, and eſpecially her eſtabliſhments in many of the iſles of the northern Archipelago, approximated her with the natives of Japan *. As we have often had occaſion in other inſtances to remark, ſo now again a favourable incident occurred to promote the deſign of the empreſs.

Some Japaneſe were ſhipwrecked in theſe unfrequented ſeas †, and ſaved themſelves on the coaſt of Ruſſia. They were in all ſixteen ſailors and the maſter of the veſſel. Profeſſor Laxmann, being ſome years afterwards at Irkutſk, in Auguſt 1792, brought the latter with him to Peterſburg. Catharine received him with kindneſs, and gave him maſters, who, while they were teaching him the ruſſian and tartarian languages, learnt enough of the japaneſe to enable them to form ſome commercial connections. This enterpriſe has not as yet been attended

* The iſlands on which the Ruſſians have poſſeſſions, extend to within 300 miles of Japan.

† The Japaneſe bark was ſtranded on Mednoï-oſtrof, or the Copper iſland.

with

with any great degree of ſucceſs: but there is no reaſon to doubt that Ruſſia, ſooner or later, will ſhare in the great profits made by the Dutch at Japan *.

Though Catharine was adding to her vaſt dominions in every quarter; though ſhe appropriated to herſelf, in peace or war, all the territory on which ſhe could ſeize with impunity, ſhe was not the leſs jealous of every acceſſion of power to her rivals. She had long been particularly uneaſy at the increaſing fame of Frederic II. and the preponderance he had acquired in Europe. From the firſt partition of Poland Frederic had daily been making encroachments on the privileges of the city of Dantzick, and preſſed it to ſuch a degree, that it was almoſt obliged to ſurrender itſelf to him, or relinquiſh

* The japaneſe captain was a very intelligent man, and had brought with him a chart of the coaſt of Japan, which was ſeen to differ widely from thoſe conſtructed in Europe. The empreſs appointed the ſon of profeſſor Laxmann to conduct the Japaneſe, in a ruſſian ſhip, back to their own country, taking conſiderable preſents with him, and being accompanied by ſeveral engineers. After a ſhort ſtay young Laxmann returned from Japan, after obtaining permiſſion for the Ruſſians to ſend a veſſel every year, for the purpoſe of trading with the natives under the ſame reſtrictions as the Dutch. Only five of the ſailors lived to go back.

its

its commerce. Catharine was the more exaſperated at ſeeing Dantzick fall under the power of the Pruſſians, as the court of Ruſſia had long ſince itſelf formed the project of taking poſſeſſion of that town, and had only been induced to lay it aſide by the private remonſtrances that were made by the government of France to the chancellor Vorontzoff *.

The magiſtrates of Dantzick were artfully invited by the miniſter Stackelberg, to implore the protection of Catharine. She immediately wrote to the king of Pruſſia with an offer of her mediation; which procedure retarded, for ſome time, the invaſion of Dantzick.

Another corner of Europe was in the mean time diſturbed by differences of an oppoſite nature. Joſeph II. had formed the deſign of opening the Scheldt. To this an oppoſition was made by the Dutch, who uſed every effort to engage Frederic to ſupport by force of arms their covetous pretenſions. Catharine on this occaſion, declared that ſhe was reſolved to ſupport the rights of the emperor of Germany. Upon this, the Dutch, whoſe cannon had already in-

* The chancellor Vorontzoff was long engaged in an epiſtolary correſpondence with Tercier, entruſted, in conjunction with the count de Broglio, with the ſecret correſpondence of Louis XV.

ſulted

ſulted the auſtrian flag, dreading an excluſion from the ports of the Baltic, adopted the wiſeſt method, of negotiating inſtead of fighting.

The public, in almoſt every part of Europe, were much intereſted in this ſubject; and the ſentiments and opinions of mankind have ſeldom been ſo much divided upon a queſtion of ſo ſimple and confined a nature as the navigation of a river.

The grounds of argument in ſupport of the emperor's claim, were very open and ſpecious. Indeed, the bare relation of the act, that an antient and reſpectable people, who had been long and early renowned in commerce, had been brought to ruin and beggary, by depriving them of their natural right to the navigation and benefits of a river which ran through their territories, ſeemed at once ſufficient to decide the queſtion in the minds of the hearers, and to unite them in a general reprobation of ſo flagrant an injuſtice. Upon the ſame principle, the deliverance of a people from ſo cruel a mark of bondage, and the reſtoration to their natural rights and former happineſs, ſeemed an atchievement ſo glorious, as to be worthy and characteriſtic of a hero. The former greatneſs, ſplendor, and opulence of Antwerp were dwelt upon with great effect; its decline

was

was attributed entirely to this odious meaſure, to which the Dutch were ſaid to be prompted by their jealouſy and avarice, in order to monopolize all commerce, and that Amſterdam in particular might riſe to greatneſs upon her ruins. With an equal view to the paſſions, and with ſtill leſs truth of juſtice, the Scheldt was magnificently repreſented as the fineſt river in Europe, as if its beauty could have any thing to do with the queſtions of right, or of political neceſſity. It may be eaſily judged, that the general and eſtabliſhed character of avidity attributed to the Dutch, with the harſh, arbitrary, and monopolizing ſpirit, which they had ever diſplayed in commercial matters, could not but operate greatly to their diſadvantage upon the opinions and prejudices of mankind.

The ſtates, however, had many ſtrong grounds of argument and fact to oppoſe to plauſible and artful repreſentations, or to prejudiced and haſtily conceived opinion. It was ſaid to be abſurd, in the preſent ſtate of things and of the world, to recur to what was called natural rights, in order to overthrow thoſe ſocial compacts between men, and political conventions between ſtates, which are the foundation and the ſecurity of all public and private property. What a picture would

Europe

Europe exhibit, if all its powers were now obliged to recur to original principles, and to the laws of nature, and to relinquiſh all thoſe poſſeſſions, which fraud or force, war or treaty, through the revolutions of a long ſeries of ages, had enabled them to acquire! It would be to untie all the bands that unite mankind; throwing them back again into a ſtate of ſavage nature; and rendering the world a chaos of endleſs confuſion and diſorder.

It was however denied, that a river's paſſing in its inland courſe through ſome part of a prince's territories, conſtituted any ſuch natural right, when its opening to the ſea was in the poſſeſſion of another ſovereign. But, at once to do away all the pathetic declamation thrown out upon this ſubject, it was ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that the whole courſe of the two branches of the Scheldt, which paſſed within the dominions of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it owed its formation and its exiſtence to the hands of Dutchmen; that its banks were the produce of ages of unintermitted labour; and that they were ſtill maintained by great and continual labour and expence: that if it had not been for thoſe ſtanding monuments of Dutch enterpriſe, thoſe admirable dykes which excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, the waters of the Scheldt,

Scheldt, ſtagnating in ſhallow lakes and immenſe marſhes, had never reached the ſea in any diſtinct or ſufficient portion for the purpoſes of navigation: that the lower Scheldt being thus originally made and ſtill preſerved by Dutchmen, as they had before created and ſtill preſerved the two provinces of Holland and Friezland, ſo it was equally their own property: that as it could not even be imagined that thoſe immenſe labours were intended for the uſe of others, ſo their benefits, as well as the ſtupendous works themſelves, muſt be conſidered, upon every principle of natural right, of law, and of juſtice, as their own excluſive property, independent of all treaties whatever.

In anſwer to the tragical repreſentations, by which the degradation and fall of Antwerp from its antient ſplendor and greatneſs were charged entirely to dutch avarice and deſpotiſm, particularly in the meaſure of ſhutting up the Scheldt, it was obſerved, that the departure of foreign commerce from that city had originated from various well-known cauſes, many of them antecedent to, and all of them differing widely from, that only one which was at preſent aſſigned. Antwerp had been faſt declining for more than a century before the commencement of the troubles and wars of the Netherlands. Commerce

merce had branched out into other channels; and Amſterdam, though long before conſiderable, had, within that period, from its ſuperior advantages, and other concurring cauſes, riſen to be the firſt commercial city in Europe. Antwerp, however, continued great and opulent; and, notwithſtanding the loſſes which it ſuſtained by its memorable ſiege, would have been ſtill conſiderable, if its ruin had not been completed by the ſame cauſes and means which deſolated Bruges, and other great cities of the Netherlands. The deſpotiſm, cruelty, and religious perſecution of the Spaniards, obliged the merchants and manufacturers to abandon them all, and to convey their commerce and their arts, along with themſelves, to other countries. It was obſerved, as a curious circumſtance with reſpect to this ſubject, that Spain, the ſovereign of Antwerp, had been no leſs intereſted than Holland, in the meaſure of ſhutting up the Scheldt; for that, as the celebrated ſtateſman John de Witte ſays in his memoirs, the greatneſs and opulence of that city were not compatible with the views of Spaniſh deſpotiſm.

The real cauſe, however, of the ſtates being ſtruck with ſuch apprehenſion at the demand of

opening the Scheldt, was not on their ſide explicitly ſtated; as that, beſides being an acknowledgment of their fears, would alſo have preciſely pointed out the objects of their terror, and ſhewn in what manner their ruin could with the greateſt eaſe be accompliſhed.

The different branches of the Scheldt interſected their dominions in ſuch a manner, and had ſuch an open communication with their various other waters, that their harbours, docks, naval arſenals, many of their principal cities, and, in a great meaſure, the whole interior of their country, would lie open and expoſed to the poſſeſſor of the former; ſo that their very exiſtence ever after muſt lie at the mercy of ſuch an inmate; and they muſt ſooner or later expect, and ever live under the conſtant dreadful apprehenſion of becoming ſacrifices to ambition, revenge, or even caprice.

As a certain degree of marine force would, however, be neceſſary for the accompliſhment of this dangerous purpoſe, and that the emperor poſſeſſed none at preſent, report and apprehenſion ſerved to ſupply that immediate defect. It was given out, and by many credited, that as that ſovereign and Ruſſia had lately been in the habit of playing into each other's hands, with reſpect

reſpect to Turkey, the Krimea, the Euxine, and the Danube, ſo they were likewiſe now in concert in the eſtabliſhment of the project concerning the Scheldt; and that the latter of theſe potent allies having failed in all her views of obtaining a port, at any price, in the Mediterranean or ocean, the former would accommodate her with the uſe of the Scheldt, as a place of arms, and ſtation for her navy. Such a report and opinion, however founded, could not but greatly heighten the diſtreſs and apprehenſion of Holland.

The teſt of war or peace announced by the emperor, without waiting the reſult of the negotiations at Bruſſels, or regarding the mediation of France, was now to be put to iſſue. Two imperial veſſels had been preparing for ſome time to make the deſtined experiment upon the conduct of the Dutch with reſpect to the Scheldt; it was to determine whether they would perſevere, at all events, in the aſſertion of their ſuppoſed right, or whether they would ſink under the well-grounded apprehenſion of their great opponent's power. Every meaſure was uſed, both at Bruſſels and Paris, to induce the emperor to waive this meaſure of deciſion, and to wait the reſult of the negotiations; but he was determined in his object, and confirmed the threat of count Belgiojoſo, by declaring,

that he would conſider the firſt inſult offered to his flag upon this occaſion as an act of formal hoſtility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic.

The equipment and preparation of theſe veſſels was evidently carried on in a manner that was intended to draw the eyes of all Europe to the tranſaction, and to prepare them for the conſequences. One of theſe was to proceed down the Scheldt, from Antwerp to the ſea; and the other, up the river from the ſea, on its courſe from Oſtend to that city.

The former was checked in her progreſs by the ſalute of a broadſide from a dutch cutter, and the veſſel from Oſtend was likewiſe ſtopped in her attempt to paſs up from the ſea; the circumſtances being in general ſimilar, but that no ſhots were fired.

Every thing now tended to an immediate rupture, ſo far as the emperor's abſence at the time from Vienna, and the great diſtance of his armies, did not ſerve to retard that event.

As ſoon as the inſtructions from court could be received, the imperial ambaſſador was recalled from the Hague, and the negotiations at Bruſſels broken up. An army of 60,000 men was under orders, and in preparation for marching from the Auſtrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands; the troops already there amounting

amounting to about 16,000. Great trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war, were in motion; and none that know the emperor's character will ſuſpect but that he was already forward in preparation for an event which he could not but foreſee was probable, and the iſſue of which he had ſo much at heart. The great diſtance of his forces from the ſcene of action was, however, an inſurmountable check to his activity. The different ſtates of the empire, whoſe territories the army was to croſs in its long march, were applied to for a conſent, which could not be well refuſed, but which was in general unwillingly granted. The countries belonging to the king of Pruſſia were of neceſſity held ſacred upon this occaſion. Nor was the emperor ſatisfied with the bare paſſage of his troops through their dominions; he called likewiſe upon the ſtates of the empire to furniſh their reſpective quotas of troops towards the ſupport of a war, which, from the late affair on the Scheldt, he wiſhed to be conſidered as entirely defenſive on his ſide.

Nor was the republic by any means inſenſible to her danger, nor negligent in providing all poſſible means for the moſt obſtinate defence. In ſpite of her unhappy internal diviſions, her

antient courage and reſolution ſeemed to revive. Though ſhe evidently dreaded the arduous and unequal conteſt, and was willing to make many ſacrifices to avoid it, yet ſhe ſeemed determined rather to hazard all things, and even to periſh in the encounter, than to ſubmit willingly to a condition with which her ruin was inſeparably involved. Agents were employed all over Germany, that nurſe of war and inexhauſtible breeder of armies, who were indefatigable in their exertions for hiring troops from thoſe princes who make it a cuſtom to barter mankind for money. The exertions were no leſs conſiderable at home, in recruiting the troops, ſtrengthening the frontiers, and putting the poſts and garriſons in the beſt poſture of defence. As the appearances of things became more alarming, and the danger ſeemed faſt approaching, they prepared for the worſt that might happen; being determined to have recourſe to the laſt deſperate refuges of defence which the nature of their country peculiarly afforded. In this determination, they were in readineſs for laying the flat and expoſed countries under water; and as the laſt reſort, took meaſures for ſuddenly arming the peaſants, whoſe fierce nature and characteriſtic obſtinacy, when operated upon in the defence of their native dykes, would undoubtedly

doubtedly have afforded ſpectacles of unuſual animoſity and horror.

In the mean time, nothing was left untried, either by the ſtates, or by the court of Verſailles, in their endeavours to divert the approaching ſtorm.

During theſe tranſactions, affairs ſeemed approaching faſt to the laſt extremity on the borders of Holland and the Netherlands.

The expoſtulations and remonſtrances of France were not capable of ſubduing the inflexibility of the emperor on the ſubject of the Schéldt. He was willing to accept the mediation of that power upon all other points of difference, and accordingly to conſent to the renewal of the negotiations limited to thoſe objects; but the free navigation of that river he conſidered as ſo incontrovertible a right, that it was not to be ſubjected to any diſcuſſion whatever.

While all Europe contemplated this new and unexpected conteſt, and ſeveral of its powers ſeemed little diſpoſed to approve of its cauſe or principle, Ruſſia, who had ſo lately ſeduced Holland to enter into the views of her naval ambition, by leading the ſtates into the ſcheme of the armed neutrality, (to which all their ſubſequent misfortunes and preſent dangers might, with no ſmall juſtice, be attributed,) now took a

decided part againſt the republic, in a buſineſs with which ſhe ſeemed to have very little concern. At the ſame time that ſhe affected or aſſumed the office of being a mediator, ſhe held out to the world her fixed determination in ſupport of the emperor's claims, and an utter condemnation of the conduct of Holland in refuſing to comply with them. It was likewiſe known or believed, whether publicly declared or not, that ſhe was engaged to ſupport him with all her forces, in caſe the interference of any other power in favour of the republic ſhould render her intervention neceſſary.

The reſt of Europe was not, however, at this time diſpoſed to ſuffer the republic to become a ſacrifice to the views and ambition of theſe two great powers. The part which the Pruſſian monarch muſt neceſſarily have taken in ſuch an attempt was ſufficiently obvious: and that which would be purſued by France became now not leſs apparent. The two crowns were evidently united in opinion upon this ſubject; and the long viſit which the celebrated prince Henry of Pruſſia paid at the court of Verſailles was attributed entirely to it: many ſuppoſing that plans were then formed for their future conduct and mutual operation, ſhould affairs be carried to the laſt extremities. The northern crowns, or at leaſt

leaſt one of them, ſeemed to catch the alarm; and ſuch naval and military movements and arrangements took place in Sweden, as occaſioned the demand of an explanation from the court of Peterſburg. Even the porte, upon this occaſion, ſeemed to ſhake off its native indolence, and to pay an unuſual attention to the ſtate of european politics, ſo that it was generally underſtood from their aſpect and movements, that the Ottomans were reſolved not to miſs ſo favourable an opportunity as might now poſſibly be offered for returning the recent obligations which they owed to the emperor.

In fact, the private treaty concluded between that prince and Ruſſia in 1782, the objects of which were kept a ſecret from their neareſt friends and allies, although particularly and immediately alarming to the porte, did not fail to give much umbrage to others of their neighbours. The continual ſchemes for the aggrandizement of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which had been purſued or in ſome degree adopted by the emperor, and which ſeemed to keep his mind in conſtant action; the concurrence which, upon every occaſion, they received from his great ally; with the vaſt ambition and dangerous deſigns attributed to both, ſerved, all together, to increaſe this jealouſy to a very high degree, and to extend it to no ſmall

number

number of the european princes and ſtates. It was ſuppoſed that the ruin of Holland would be only the prelude to other pretenſions, which might be extended on every ſide, while the ſucceſs in each would ſerve as an encouragement to farther attempts at forming new arrangements of power, and new partitions of dominion. The fate of Poland could not be forgotten in ſuch a courſe of conſideration; and the reflection might now come home to thoſe who, thinking themſelves out of danger, had paid no regard at the time to the fire which was conſuming their neighbour's houſe.

It ſeemed therefore neceſſary that ſome meaſure of union ſhould be adopted by the central and weſtern powers of Europe in order to counterbalance this great northern confederacy, and to obviate its ſuſpected deſigns, and apprehended effects. And if ſuch a meaſure were to take place, France ſeemed calculated, from her ſituation, power, intereſt in the queſtion, and other circumſtances, to be the proper, if not natural, head or centre of ſuch an union.

The negotiations for an accommodation between the emperor and Holland were, in the courſe of the ſummer of the following year, reſumed at Paris, under the auſpices of the french prime miniſter: and, towards the latter end of June,

June, the barons de Waſſenaar and Leyden ſet out from the Hague, as deputies from the republic to the court of Vienna. The object of this deputation ſeems to have been that merely of making ſuch conceſſions on the part of the republic as might accord with the emperor's ideas of dignity, particularly with reſpect to the inſult offered to his flag; a point in which he ſeemed to think his honour ſo much concerned, that nothing leſs than ſatisfaction on that head could open the way to an accommodation.

While Catharine was ſecuring peace without the empire, and giving it to other powers, cabals and intrigues were reviving in her court. No methods were left unemployed by the diſaffected for inciting the grand duke againſt his mother, and for irritating that princeſs againſt him. His imperial highneſs generally ſpent the autumn at Gatſhina, a country ſeat diſtant about 18 verſts from Tzarſko-ſelo. All at once a report was ſpread that he deſigned to build a town there, and to give liberty to all who ſhould come and live in it. The prince was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee the peaſants running in crowds from various parts of the empire to partake of theſe benefits. But, with great prudence, he kindly diſmiſſed them, and thus diſſipated an incipient revolt, from which undoubtedly great

advantages

advantages were expected by the parties concerned.

The perſpicacity and the zeal of Bezborodko rendered him neceſſary to the empreſs; and, having ſucceeded to Panin, he ſeemed to have inherited his ſentiments. Connected with the family of Vorontzoff *, he was the ſecret opponent of Potemkin, who diſdained all his enemies, openly braved them, and ſometimes made them objects of his ſport with peculiar addreſs.

Lanſkoï, beloved by Potemkin, to whom he was alſo greatly attached, became daily more dear to the empreſs. The education of this favourite had been much neglected; Catharine took the care of his improvement on herſelf. She adorned his mind with every uſeful knowledge; and he was very ſoon as diſtinguiſhable for his acquirements, and the ſuperior elegance of his manners, as he was already by the graces of his perſon. Her love for this amiable youth was ardent and ſincere: ſhe admired in him her own creation. But this ſatisfaction was not of long continuance. Lanſkoï was attacked with a

* The two Vorontzoffs are brothers of princeſs Daſhkoff, and of the favourite lady of Peter III. One of them, Alexander Vorontzoff, was placed at the head of the college of commerce; the other, Sergius Vorontzoff, is the preſent miniſter in England.

violent

violent fever, and periſhed in the flower of his age, in the arms of her majeſty, who laviſhed upon him, to the very laſt moment, all the tenderneſs the moſt paſſionate affection could inſpire.

When he was no more, ſhe gave herſelf up to the moſt poignant ſorrow. The imperial apartments, from the abodes of joy, reſembled now the lonely deſert. Catharine refuſed all ſuſtenance for ſeveral days, and remained three months without going out of her palace of Tzarſko-ſelo *. She afterwards raiſed a ſuperb mauſoleum † to Lanſkoï, in the gardens of that imperial ſeat, juſt viſible through the trees from the windows of her private apartment; and, more than two years afterwards, accidentally walking near this monument, the people of the court who

*. On the firſt ſhock occaſioned by the death of Lanſkoï, the empreſs ordered herſelf to be put to bed, indifferent to life or death, being almoſt entirely abſorbed in grief. The grand duke and grand ducheſs, on hearing of this, drove immediately to Tzarſko-ſelo: but when they were arrived at the door of the bed-chamber, and their preſence was announced to the empreſs, ſhe called to them in an altered tone of voice not to come in; and they were obliged to return without ſeeing her.

† This beautiful little piece of architecture was conſtructed by Mr. Charles Cameron, an engliſh artiſt.

were with her, obſerved her to ſhed abundance of tears *.

* The fortune of Lanſkoï was eſtimated at 3,000,000 of rubles. He bequeathed it to the empreſs, which ſhe returned to the ſiſters of that favourite, reſerving only to herſelf the right of purchaſing the pictures, the medals, the library, the plate, and one landed eſtate valued at 400,000 rubles, of which ſhe had made him a preſent. — One fine collection of coins, however, was irreparably loſt ſome time before. In 1780 the late Dr. John Glen King made a viſit to Peterſburg, and brought with him a collection of britiſh and ſaxon coins that had been begun by Charles I. and being ſold after the death of that unfortunate prince, it paſſed into different hands, receiving additions by its ſeveral poſſeſſors; at length being bought by a clergyman who had a taſte that way, he increaſed it by purchaſes, to the detriment of his ſlender income. On his deceaſe it was almoſt the only property that fell to his widow. Not able to find a purchaſer for it in England, the doctor humanely took charge of the collection, in hopes of diſpoſing of it in Ruſſia for the benefit of the relict of his friend. He was adviſed to offer it to the new favourite; and Lanſkoï, on hearing the account of it, accepted the offer, paid the money, and ordered it to his new houſe. There it was negligently placed; and ſome few days afterwards, the coins were ſeen in the hands of the children of the vaſſals that had the unfiniſhed buildings in their care, who were rolling them to and fro; in ſhort, ſome pieces fell through the floors, others perhaps found their way to the brandy-ſhop, Lanſkoï never thought of his purchaſe more, and it was entirely loſt without any inquiry being made about it.

Prince

Prince Potemkin took upon him to diſpel the grief of Catharine. He was almoſt the only perſon who could preſume to penetrate the ſolitude in which ſhe paſſed her hours. His influence with her increaſed from day to day; and whether from gratitude or from real attachment, ſhe reſolved, it is ſaid, to bind him to her by indiſſoluble ties, and ſecretly gave him her hand *.

The bonds of wedlock were unable to fix either the taſte of Potemkin or the fancy of Catharine. He ſoon ſet himſelf free from the obligations this tie impoſes, and delegated them to a younger and more ardent favourite.

All who had ambition at court were deſirous of ſeeing the place, now vacant by the death of Lanſkoï, filled up by ſome perſonage who would allow them to ſhare in the favours dependent on it. Princeſs Daſhkoff was induſtrious in her endeavours to obtain it for her ſon; and ſucceſs for a moment ſeemed to wait on her intrigues.

* Undoubtedly nothing is more difficult than to prove the authenticity of ſuch a marriage. But the french authors ſay, that a perſon highly worthy of credit aſſured them that the nieces of prince Potemkin were in poſſeſſion of the certificates of that event, and that one of them told him ſo. After all, both the empreſs and prince Potemkin being dead, this ſecret is of no more importance than that of the marriage of Louis XIV. with madame de Maintenon.

The

The young prince Daſhkoff was tall, well made, and of a figure adapted to make ſome impreſſion on the heart of the empreſs *. Prince Potemkin who was aware of the meaſures employed to bring this matter about, carefully avoided any apparent oppoſition, knowing that contradiction only ſerves as a ſtimulant. Feigning on the contrary a wiſh to favour the young Daſhkoff, he took greater notice of his family, with whom he had hitherto been on very indifferent terms. No one was better ſkilled in the art of obſerving and imitating whatever was ridiculous in the perſons whom he frequented; and he neglected not to make Catharine remark thoſe of princeſs Daſhkoff and her ſon. The empreſs laughed heartily at his mimickry; and the next day Potemkin ſent to her, one after another, two ſubaltern officers of the guards, Yermoloff and Momonoff, with ſome trifling commiſſion, in order to give her an opportunity to ſee them. Catharine decided in favour of the former.

A ball was given at court. Young Daſhkoff was there, and diſplayed an extraordinary magni-

* Prince Daſhkoff is now, or was lately with his regiment at Mohilef. Among a number of other accompliſhments which he poſſeſſes, he ſpeaks the engliſh language remarkably well, having had his education in Scotland. The prince is a fellow of the royal ſociety of London.

ficence,

ficence. The courtiers imagined his triumph was at hand, and already paid him thoſe marks of deference which are the appendages of favouritiſm. Potemkin redoubled his attention to princeſs Daſhkoff. With this ſhe was ſo delighted, that on the following day ſhe wrote him a note, requeſting him to admit her nephew the young count Butturlin into the number of his aides-de-camp. Potemkin miſchievouſly anſwered her, that all the places of aides-de-camp to him were full, and that the laſt had juſt been given to lieutenant Yermoloff.

The name as well as the perſon that bore it were alike unknown to the princeſs Daſhkoff. That very day ſhe became acquainted with them both, on perceiving Yermoloff at the Hermitage, ſtanding behind the chair of the empreſs.

1785. It was in the height of the conteſt about the Scheldt, when the public attention was fully engroſſed, and the emperor's mind ſuppoſed to be entirely occupied by that momentous ſubject, that the world was aſtoniſhed by the opening of a new ſource of jealouſy and diſcord in Germany. What rendered this new buſineſs entirely unaccountable was, that it not only ſeemed in its nature, principle, and deſign, to run directly counter to all the meaſures which that prince had hitherto purſued, and was ſtill,

with no leſs apparent eagerneſs and determination purſuing, with reſpect to Holland and the Scheldt, but at once ſhut out all the avowed and imputed views, from which the conteſt was ſuppoſed to originate.

This new ſubject of alarm and contention was no leſs than the propoſed or ſuppoſed exchange of an antient and great electorate in the heart of Germany, for the auſtrian Netherlands; thoſe very Netherlands upon whoſe account the emperor ſeemed at the time on the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, whoſe conſequences (as had been well obſerved, and ſtrongly urged by the court of Verſailles) could not be calculated.

The pruſſian monarch became, upon that great and very critical occaſion, the diſtinguiſhed and ſucceſsful guardian and protector of the rights of the german princes, and the liberties of the germanic body in general. The war which he then undertook, though not illuminated by thoſe dazzling actions which captivate the imagination, yet conſidered in its motives, with the diſintereſtedneſs which marked his whole conduct, through the progreſs and concluſion of the conteſt, may poſſibly ſerve to crown him with more unfading laurels, than the moſt ſplendid acts and the moſt glorious victories of his youth.

The

The peace concluded at Teſchen on the 13th of May 1779, ſo effectually annulled the claims and pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria upon the dominions of Bavaria, that it might be ſuppoſed to have cut off the poſſibility of any future diſcuſſion or conteſt upon that ſubject.

But though the neceſſity of apparently relinquiſhing the deſign was then predominant, yet the object preſented ſo irreſiſtible a temptation, that the deſire of its acquiſition could not be foregone. And as the ſame great obſtacles ſtill remained to the obtaining of it by force, other means were to be tried, and meaſures of another nature purſued.

Ambition and vanity ſeldom grow old, and the lure of a crown was ſuppoſed to have been ſucceſsfully held out to the elector palatine, in order to induce him to an exchange of the duchy of Bavaria, including all thoſe appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teſchen, for the auſtrian Netherlands, which were to be conſtituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Auſtraſia. Nothing could certainly have been more advantageous to the houſe of Auſtria, or more conſonant to its views of ſupreme greatneſs, than this exchange. For, excluſive of the precarious tenure by which the Low Countries were held, and which was

now perhaps more ſenſibly felt than at any former time, the acceſſion of ſo large and conſiderable a country as Bavaria rendered ſtill more important by its peculiar ſituation, beſides rounding and completing the auſtrian dominions, would have conſolidated ſuch a great and compacted body of power, as nothing afterwards in the empire, conſidering the diviſion and general weakneſs of its ſtates, could be ſuppoſed able in any degree to counterpoiſe.

On the other hand it would ſeem, that nothing leſs than the paſſion of filling a throne, for however ſhort a time, and the empty gratification of leaving a name enrolled in the mouldering catalogues of forgotten kings, could have induced the elector, at his time of life, and without children, to enter into a meaſure ſo diſagreeable to his ſubjects, ſo dangerous to his co-eſtates of the empire, and ſo unjuſt to his apparent heirs and preſumptive ſucceſſors, as the dominion which he was to obtain bore no adequate proportion in the great objects of extent, number of inhabitants, importance, or ſecurity, to the country which he was to give in exchange.

No ſeaſon, however, could well be choſen that was leſs favourable to the carrying of ſuch a meaſure into execution than the preſent. The attention of Europe was already much rouſed by

the northern alliance, and by a ſucceſſion of meaſures or projects which were ſuppoſed to have ariſen from it; ſo that the more diſtant as well as the nearer powers began now to entertain no ſmall jealouſy of the conduct and views of theſe two great empires, whoſe union appeared to be ſo ſtrictly cemented, that they were ſcarcely to be conſidered in any other point of view than that of acting under the ſame common influence of deſign, and under the impulſe of the ſame common intereſt in every thing. In ſuch a diſpoſition and ſtate of circumſtances, it was ſcarcely reaſonable to expect that an innovation in the conſtitution of the germanic body, as well as in the general ſyſtem of european policy, could by any means paſs unqueſtioned; or indeed that the attempt would not be attended with much difficulty and danger.

The negotiation upon this intended barter was conducted with ſuch extreme cloſeneſs and ſecrecy, that no ſuſpicion of the deſign was entertained, even by thoſe who were the moſt immediately intereſted in the meaſure, and would be the moſt deeply affected by it, until the treaty was ſuppoſed to be already far advanced, if not abſolutely concluded. This buſineſs was likewiſe attended with the peculiar circumſtance of its exiſtence having been in the firſt inſtance

abſolutely denied, and never after fully acknowledged, by the contracting parties themſelves. A letter from the empreſs of Ruſſia to the duke of Deux-ponts, tending to induce him to an acquieſcence in the propoſed ſcheme of exchange or barter, if not a confirmation of it, was the firſt intelligence which that prince, the preſumptive heir and ſucceſſor to the elector palatine in all his eſtates, dominions, and titles, received, that any ſuch deſign was in agitation. This letter was probably received about the cloſe of the year 1784, as the king of Pruſſia was informed of the whole affair by the duke, who claimed his interference and protection, as guarantee of the treaty of Teſchen, early in the following month of January.

In whatever terms the duke's anſwer was conveyed, it was ſo ill taken by the court of Peterſburg, that there fuſal was probably very peremptory. The king of Pruſſia immediately remonſtrated ſtrongly with that court upon the ſubject, as having been a mediator of the peace at Teſchen, and being a guarantee to the treaty. The empreſs, in her anſwer, declared, that ſhe had conceived this project to be the only ſure means of preventing a war: that upon this ground ſhe very ſeriouſly wiſhed for its being carried into immediate execution: that theſe ſentiments had indeed

indeed dictated the letter written by her to the duke of Deux-ponts, inviting him, in the moſt friendly manner, to come into the ſcheme; but finding herſelf ill requited for her good offices, ſo far as could be judged from the anſwer which ſhe received from the duke, which is of a tenor that ſhe neither can nor ſhall give any reply to, ſhe had dropped all farther concern in the buſineſs; and the empreſs declares to the king, that ſhe has no intentions to enforce the execution of this project, excepting that the parties more immediately concerned ſhould fully agree to it.

But, previous to this developement of the buſineſs by the empreſs of Ruſſia, both the courts of Munich and Vienna had thought it neceſſary publicly to contradict the reports which were ſpread upon the ſubject, and to aſſert that they were unfounded; and though the expreſſions were looſe and general, they were evidently intended to convey an idea that no ſuch deſign had exiſted. The ſtates of Bavaria were ſo exceedingly alarmed at the report, that the elector thought it neceſſary to give them ſome ſatisfaction on the ſubject. He aſſured them, in a written document, dated on the 13th of February 1785, that the reports ſpread of a pretended treaty between him and the imperial court, relative to an exchange of country, were without

foundation; that the convention between him and that court, which had been lately ratified, related only to the adjuſtment of limits; and that he had already ordered an extract of that treaty, ſo far as it concerned the provincial ſtates, to be communicated to them.

Though this anſwer ſeemed to afford ſome temporary ſatisfaction, yet it was ſoon conſidered as not being ſufficiently explicit; a general apprehenſion and alarm was ſpread among the people; and the order of burghers joined the nobles in the moſt preſſing ſollicitations to the elector for a farther and clearer explanation. The diſcontents excited upon this occaſion ſerved to renew, with additional force, thoſe old animoſities which, through a long courſe of mutual injuries and cruel wars, had for ages ſubſiſted between the inhabitants of Bavaria and the palatinate. This ill temper became ſo prevalent, that all the powers of diſcipline and deſpotiſm were ſcarcely ſufficient to prevent the bavarian and electoral troops from proceeding to the moſt dangerous extremities. It was even ſaid to have pervaded the elector's palace and court; and it was reported, that the very grooms could not be prevented from coming to blows in his ſtables.

Frederic II. who regarded the alliance between Auſtria and Ruſſia as highly dangerous to Pruſſia,

Pruſſia, and even to all Germany, invited the electors and the other princes of the empire to unite for the defence of the germanic conſtitution *. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, was one of the firſt who entered into the confederacy: a ſtep which cauſed great diſpleaſure both to the empreſs and to Potemkin.

The court of London, deſirous of renewing its treaty of commerce with Ruſſia, ſent, in quality of miniſter plenipotentiary, to St. Peterſburg, Alleyne Fitzherbert, eſq. †, who, to the untowardneſs of circumſtances, added the miſtake of attaching himſelf to the party of the Vorontzoffs and of Bezborodko. The commerce which binds Ruſſia to England is equally beneficial to both powers; and Catharine certainly had no deſire to relinquiſh it: but ſhe was not diſpleaſed at being able to give a proof of her reſentment againſt the court of London, by delaying the renewal of the treaty ‡.

Perhaps it may be neceſſary here to ſtate briefly in what the commerce carried on by the Engliſh with the Ruſſians conſiſts. This com-

* The treaty was ſigned at Berlin the 23d of July 1785.

† Now lord St. Helens.

‡ That treaty had yet two years to run.

merce

merce began in the port of Archangel, which the Engliſh diſcovered about the middle of the ſixteenth century, while in ſearch of a north-eaſt paſſage to the Indies. From Archangel they went up the Dvina, proceeded over land to Moſco, and there formed connections, which they afterwards greatly extended, when Peter I. had completed the conqueſt of Livonia, and opened to them the ports of St. Peterſburg, of Reval, of Riga, and of Narva. Since that æra the commerce with Ruſſia is become one of the moſt lucrative in which Great Britain is engaged, and the moſt uſeful to her marine.

The Engliſh carry to Ruſſia * the products of their country, of their manufactures, and of their colonies

* About the year 1553, in the reign of Edward VI. on the propoſal of the famous navigator Sebaſtian Cabot, a veſſel was fitted out in England for the purpoſe of diſcovering a north-eaſt paſſage to China and India, the command of which was given to ſir Hugh Willoughby, and after him to Richard Chancellor. This latter was wrecked in the bay of St. Nicholas in the White-ſea, where at that time was only a monaſtery. From this accident began the trade between the Engliſh and the Ruſſians. Tzar Ivan Vaſſillievitch ſoon after this cauſed the harbour of the Archangel Michael to be made, granted ſeveral privileges to that nation, and at length aroſe from this connection the conſiderable mercantile city of Archangel. The commerce here ſoon increaſed, and in 1655 the commodities exported from it

colonies in the two Indies, as well as the wines and the brandies of France and Spain, which they fetch from the ports of thoſe countries, and by which they not only make a conſiderable profit, but gain likewiſe the freight of their ſhips.

The Ruſſians, in exchange, give them corn, furs, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, tallow, deals, and maſts, without which Europe could never fit out thoſe fleets which cover the ſeas, and often tinge them with blood. The Engliſh have moreover eſtabliſhed at Moſco, at Tula, at Kaſan, at Aſtrakhan, and in ſome other towns in Ruſſia, mercantile houſes which trade to the

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it to England already amounted to 660,000 rubles: from 1697 to 1701 upon a yearly average 112,251l. ſterling, while the imports from England amounted only to 58,884l. ſterling. The revenue of the crown in Archangel amounted annually to about 100,000 rubles, a ſum which, according to the then value of money, was very conſiderable. The principal articles of export at that time were, potaſhes, caviar, tallow, wax, hides, hemp, feathers, tar, linen-yarn, beef, rhubarb, ſilk, (probable chineſe or perſian,) cork, bacon, cordage, leather, hogs-briſtles, &c. all therefore raw materials. Under Peter I. a great alteration in this commerce enſued: for, when he had built St. Peterſburg, he drew thither the trade from Archangel, which former city thereby became the chief commercial town of the ruſſian empire.

ports

ports of the Caſpian, and ſend their commodities into Tartary. In theſe places they have manufactories, in which the wages of the workmen are far lower than in England, and where their factors make ſails, cables, anchors, and hammered or caſt iron as well as copper.

Though entirely paſſive for Ruſſia, this commerce procures her annually a balance of 1,000,000 of rubles in time of peace, and 1,500,000 in time of war. But how great the advantage to England! What immenſe reſources it affords for the ſupport of her navy, and for the perpetual augmentation of her connections in every part of the globe!

The french ambaſſador * at Conſtantinople had inſtigated, almoſt contrary to his own inclination, the court of Peterſburg to act in concert with that of Verſailles. This miniſter had lately been recalled. Vergennes, who was ſenſible of the neceſſity of forming ſome connections with Catharine, procured the appointment of count de Ségur to the embaſſy of Peterſburg †. This young negotiator was peculiarly ſuited to ſo important a miſſion. To great mental en-

* M. Saint-Prieſt.

† He arrived there in the month of February 1784.

dowments,

dowments, he added an extenſive erudition, combined politeneſs with dignity, and the art of perſuaſion with frankneſs of character. He could not fail of being agreeable to Catharine, and of gaining the regard of Potemkin, who, with his haughty roughneſs, always knew how to appreciate real merit.

Never any french miniſter, ſince La Chetardie *, had been able to ſucceed at Peterſburg. By his ſervile compliances, Breteuil had favoured the ſchemes of Catharine, who preſently learnt to deſpiſe him: the ſolemn gravity of Beauſſet was tireſome to that princeſs: the inſignificant mediocrity of the marquis de Juigné diſguſted her; and the comte de Vérac could never obtain from her the ſmalleſt degree of confidence, becauſe he ſtammered in ſpeaking to her at his firſt preſentation. The comte de Ségur repaired the miſchiefs occaſioned by his awkward predeceſſors.

The empreſs was deſirous of viſiting the famous canal of Viſhney-Volotſhok, which

* La Chetardie had aſſiſted the empreſs Elizabeth in mounting the throne, which however did not prevent him from running the riſk of being aſſaſſinated, by villains whom the chancellor Beſtucheff had hired to way-lay him on the road, and who fired at his carriage.

unites

unites the Volga with the Ilmen lake, that again with the Ladoga, and conſequently the Caſpian with the Baltic. Prince Potemkin, Yermoloff, count Bezborodko, ſeveral others of the court, the engliſh miniſter, and the ambaſſadors of France and of the empire, accompanied her on this journey.

One day the ambaſſador of France going to talk as uſual with Potemkin, found him more angry than ordinary with the court of London. Dexterouſly taking advantage of this opportunity, Ségur repreſented to Potemkin the benefit that would reſult to Ruſſia from having a commerce direct with France, inſtead of leaving to the Engliſh all the profits * which they draw from both the one and the other of thoſe powers. Prince Potemkin engaged him to commit his obſervations to paper, and promiſed to ſpeak of them to none but her majeſty. The ambaſſador immediately returned to his barge; and finding

* Such nations as have no treaty of commerce with Ruſſia are obliged to pay the duties in dollars. They muſt therefore buy the ruble at 135 to 145 kopecks the ruble, which is really worth no more than 125 paper money. The nations then that have a treaty gain 12 per cent. on the duties, which, independently of other advantages, is a conſiderable benefit. The ambaſſador obtained beſides of the court of Ruſſia a diminution on the import duties on french wines.

nobody

nobody there excepting count Cobentzel and Mr. Fitzherbert, who were amuſing themſelves at back-gammon, he borrowed the ink-ſtand of the latter. It was therefore with the pen of the engliſh miniſter that he drew up the plan of a treaty of commerce between France and Ruſſia. This paper being immediately conveyed to Potemkin, was communicated to the empreſs, and obtained her conſent: this done, it was faithfully returned to the ambaſſador, being deſired to preſent it, according to cuſtom, to the vice-chancellor Oſtermann.

On the receipt of this paper, Oſtermann, not knowing that it had already the approbation of the empreſs and Potemkin, and being entirely devoted to the Engliſh, told the ambaſſador that he could not preſume to flatter him with the hopes of ſucceſs. The ambaſſador kept ſilence. The plan, being laid before the council, was immediately approved of by all; and it was in this manner that the treaty of commerce between France and Ruſſia was brought about.

Previous to the ſigning of this treaty, Oſtermann and Bezborodko obſerved that it was expected that France ſhould declare her adheſion to the armed neutrality. A notification of it was given to the ambaſſador, who conſented,

ſented, provided that the court of Peterſburg would promiſe to conclude no treaty with any other power unleſs upon the ſame conditions. This clauſe inſerted in oppoſition to the intereſts of England, retarded for a long time the renewal of the treaty ſollicited by Mr. Fitzherbert.

The French ambaſſador, at his departure, had mentioned the hope he entertained of concluding a treaty of commerce with Ruſſia. He was haſtily anſwered, that there was no poſſibility of ſuch an event. On his writing to his court that this treaty was on foot, the count de Vergennes diſpatched a courier to inform him that it was no more than an empty lure thrown out to him by the court of Ruſſia, and that he would ſurely bring the dignity of the king into queſtion if he acted upon it. The treaty was already concluded when the courier arrived at St. Peterſburg.

Towards the cloſe of the ſame year, a treaty of commerce was concluded with the emperor, which afforded great advantages to his ſubjects, who, beſides their being in general placed upon a footing with the moſt favoured nations, were granted ſeveral peculiar privileges. Among theſe was the clauſe which granted them an exemption from all duties in the port of Riga, and which placed them in all reſpects upon the footing

ing of native inhabitants in that city. In general, however, the advantages were reciprocal; ſuch as in lowering the duties upon hungarian wines on one ſide, and thoſe upon leather, hides, and other commodities, which might in a good meaſure be conſidered as ſtaple, upon the other. Upon the whole, the treaty ſeemed evidently calculated to eſtabliſh the eaſieſt poſſible intercourſe, with the moſt intimate and laſting connections, between the ſubjects of both empires; ſo that, though the terms of the treaty limited its duration to twelve years, it appeared that the mutual friendſhip which it was to produce among the people was intended to be hereditary. Upon this principle, ſeveral cities and trading towns in both empires were placed upon the footing of open markets, where the foreign inhabitant, or even temporary reſident, on either ſide, was to enjoy a ſort of denizenſhip, and to poſſeſs the ſame ſecurity and advantages in trade with the native. The contracting parties likewiſe particularly bound themſelves to a ſtrict adherence to the terms and principles of that regulation or compact of which the empreſs had been inſtitutreſs in the late war, and which has been ſo well known under the denomination of the armed neutrality; and which, though now of ſome

ſtanding, ſhe ſtill ſeemed to regard with all the predilection which novelty gives to a favourite ſcheme.

The treaty of commerce with France was likewiſe at this time concluded. Similar negotiations were at the ſame time in train with ſeveral other nations. Yet, with this prevalent diſpoſition to the forming of new connections in trade, the old treaty of commerce with England (which had ſo long been conſidered as the moſt favoured nation, and entitled to peculiar privileges in Ruſſia) was now ſuffered to expire, nor had it yet been renewed. The Engliſh had many grounds, without reckoning political cauſes or motives, whereon to ſupport their claims to peculiar favour and privileges in Ruſſia. Among others, it is not to be forgotten, that the Engliſh were not only the firſt people who ever opened a commerce with Ruſſia by ſea, but that they were the firſt who diſcovered her at all poſſeſſing an acceſſible ſea-coaſt. To them, therefore, Archangel owed her riſe from a poor fiſhing village to be the great emporium of northern trade: to that cauſe were the adjoining deſert provinces indebted for the degrees of culture, improvement, and civilization, which they received; and the whole empire, for thereby obtain-

obtaining a ready vent for their own goods and an eaſy ſupply of the numberleſs European commodities which they wanted.

But the empreſs ſeemed to be faſt departing from that line of policy which had been ſo long generally purſued by her predeceſſors as well as herſelf, in their conduct with reſpect to England and France. The friendſhip ſhewn, and the effectual ſervice done by England in that war againſt the Ottomans, which covered her reign with glory, and from which Ruſſia derived ſuch vaſt acquiſitions of territory and ſo great an extenſion of at leaſt apparent power, was but ill returned by the latter in her ſubſequent conduct, at the time that Great Britain was oppreſſed and nearly overborne by the greateſt combination of hoſtile power which had been formed againſt any ſingle ſtate in modern times. The ſcheme of the armed neutrality was formed upon principles as unfriendly to England, and, intentionally, if not actually, as inimical to her intereſts, as any thing ſhort of abſolute hoſtility could well be; nor did it afford much leſs encouragement to her numerous enemies, nor depreſſion to herſelf, (for friends ſhe had none,) than an actual declaration of war from Ruſſia would have done.

Indeed the wiſdom of the policy adopted by Great Britain in that ruſſian and ottoman war

was much queſtioned, and her conduct no leſs cenſured, at the time, by not a few who were well acquainted with the general politics of Europe, as well as with the intereſts of its reſpective ſtates. They contended, that ſhe departed from the antient principles, as well as the ſtrait line of her policy, in encouraging or admitting Ruſſia to take any hoſtile ſtand in maritime affairs, without the limits aſſigned to her by nature in the Baltic; but that to lead her by the hand, as it were, from the bottom of the gulf of Finland to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and there to aid and encourage her in acquiring poſſeſſions which might enable her to eſtabliſh a formidable naval force in thoſe central ſeas, which would afford her an opportunity of continual interference in the concerns of all the ſtates of Europe, was repreſented as ſuch a violation of all the obvious principles of policy, that it ſeemed to partake more of the raſh predilection of an individual, than of thoſe cold but comprehenſive maxims which ſhould regulate the conduct of ſtates, and which ſhould look as fully to future contingencies as to preſent effect.

The coincidence of views and deſigns between Ruſſia and the houſe of Auſtria had drawn the bands of their union ſo cloſe, that whatever excited jealouſy or diſſatisfaction in the one was

ſure to operate no leſs powerfully upon the other; a circumſtance by no means tending to render the ſudden and extraordinary friendſhip which had ſprung up between them the more pleaſing to other ſtates. This was fully exemplified in the haſty and uncalled-for ſentence, without being authorized as a judge or mediator to interfere, which Ruſſia pronounced againſt Holland on the affair of the Scheldt. The part taken by the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, in his acceſſion to the germanic league, was, without queſtion, the cauſe of diſtaſte with both theſe formidable powers towards England; it was reported, and probably not without foundation, that the court of Peterſburg was no leſs zealous or urgent than that of Vienna, firſt in its endeavours to prevent the acceſſion to that league, and then in uſing every poſſible means which could induce the king to a renunciation of it. The failure in both produced ſuch effects as were to be expected from the character and reſpective ſituation of the parties.

It is not, however, to be forgotten, that the commerce with England is to the full as eſſential to Ruſſia as to the former; that a very conſiderable annual balance, in money, is gained by her from England on that trade; that no merchants, with ſmaller capitals or leſs commercial ſpirit

than the Engliſh, could or would adventure the large ſums of money which they conſtantly and neceſſarily advance long before the period of a return, in order to invigorate the manufactures, to ſet the people to work in a wide and poor country, and to enable the ſmall traders to bring the goods, whether ſtaple or manufacture, from their reſpective and remote diſtricts, to market; and that, without this eſſential pecuniary aſſiſtance, a conſequent decreaſe of induſtry and product muſt inevitably take place, trade and manufacture would languiſh, and whatever there was would become a monopoly in the hands of a few opulent natives, whoſe avarice would encumber it with ſuch obſtructions as would bring it to nothing. The advantages being thus reciprocal, the evil of any interruption to the long-eſtabliſhed commerce between the two countries (if ſuch it really would be to England, which is a queſtion of much doubt) is likely to cure itſelf; and things, if not carried too far, will probably, in defiance of caprice or ill-humour, as in other caſes of improper reſtrictions on trade, return to their natural channel. Commerce once loſt is with great difficulty recovered; and it happens well to mankind in general, that there are but few products confined entirely to any one country. Our countrymen and old fellow-ſubjects

jects the Americans would joyfully ſupply the place of Ruſſia in many reſpects; and thoſe articles in which they are yet deficient might be procured in the intermediate time.

Ere ſhe returned to her reſidence, Catharine made a viſit to Moſco, and was there leſs unfavourably received than ſhe had before been on ſimilar occaſions. Time had almoſt effaced the remembrance of her uſurpation. Among the perſons who appeared at her court was Gudovitch, who was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the extreme ſimplicity of his dreſs, from the crowd of courtiers beſpangled with ſtars, croſſes, and badges of knighthood. His preſence alone called up the image of Peter III. in every breaſt.

Counteſs Romanovna Vorontzoff had been long recalled from exile, and was married to admiral Palianſky. The empreſs never invited her to court, but ſhe ſent for her daughter and admitted her into the number of the maids of honour; whether from compaſſion to the mother, or from kindneſs to the family of the Vorontzoffs, is uncertain.

The ſpirit of toleration that animated the whole of Catharine's adminiſtration, was a very remarkable and almoſt ſingular phænomenon in a deſpotic government. Notwithſtanding all oppoſition, the empreſs was true to the re-

ſolution ſhe formed at the commencement of her reign; and, from that moment to the day of her death, not one inſtance occurred of a human being ſuffering, in any reſpect whatever, on account of his religious opinions *. Not only the conquered provinces were protected in the free exerciſe of their religion, but lutherans, calviniſts, moravian brethren, papiſts, mohammedans, heathens, and people of all countries and perſuaſions, might aſpire to any poſt under government, and hold any civil or military employment or dignity, if they were but worthy, or deemed worthy of it. The intolerant of more poliſhed nations might go to the provinces of Eſthonia, Livonia, Finland, and Ruſſia, to take leſſons of moderation and chriſtian forbearance. But at Peterſburg the general and peculiar feature in the public character is toleration; a virtue which, in ſome ſenſe, has long

* The empreſs, on all occaſions, evinced great lenity of diſpoſition towards heretics. "Poor wretches!" ſhe once ſaid, ſmiling, "ſince we know that they are to ſuffer ſo "much and ſo long in the world to come, it is but rea-"ſonable that we ſhould endeavour by all means to make "their ſituation here as comfortable to them as we can." It was, however, as much as ſhe could do to ſcreen the rev. M. Samborſky from the fury of the monks for appearing without a beard, and in the ordinary dreſs of an engliſh clergyman, on his return from a reſidence of ſeveral years in England.

ſince

ſince taken root in the nation at large, but in the reſidence, from the confluence of ſuch numbers of people of various perſuaſions, and the moſt diverſified ſyſtems of faith, of the moſt diſſimilar manners, cuſtoms, opinions, and prejudices, has acquired ſo general and extenſive a ſway, that certainly it is not eaſy to find a ſpot of earth upon the globe, where, in this reſpect, a man may more quietly paſs his days than at St. Peterſburg. It is to be underſtood, moreover, that the word "toleration" is not here confined to that narrow meaning in which it is uſually taken in ſpeaking of an extorted and commanded forbearance in matters of religion, or of the permiſſion for the weaker party to exiſt by a ſtated law. The idea here connected with the term includes a voluntary and univerſally diffuſed forbearance, in every place, and towards every perſon, his manner of thinking and acting. It therefore comprehends not only religious, but alſo political and ſocial toleration, and is remarkable, not as the characteriſtic of the form of government, but as entirely that of the public *.

That religious toleration prevails in Ruſſia appears plainly hence, that the great and exten-

* Storch, Gemælde von Peterſburg, vol. ii. p. 504.

ſive

ſive liberties which the tolerated ſects of religion enjoyed under Catharine's protection, no where, either among the populace or the higher claſſes, never even among the clergy, excited the ſmalleſt diſcontent or rivalſhip. Prelates of the greek church lived with the religious teachers of other confeſſions of faith in the moſt friendly and familiar intercourſe, and invited them to their tables and converſe *; ruſſian popes, when not in function themſelves, occaſionally frequented the worſhip of the proteſtants, proſecuted their ſtudies in Holland, England, and Germany, where they ſometimes attended theological lectures. One inſtance even occurred of a reſpectable ruſſian clergyman giving his daughter to be educated by a lutheran preacher. Among the laity of the greek ſect of religion, this compatibility naturally proceeds farther. They appear

* The writer of this note recollects with particular pleaſure the agreeable hours he has paſſed at the monaſtery of St. Alexander Nefsky, with that excellent and amiable metropolitan and archimandrite Gabriel archbiſhop of St. Peterſburg and Novgorod; alſo with Plato archbiſhop of Moſco, Eugenius biſhop of Kherſon, Shezronchevitch the catholic archbiſhop of Mohilef, Pamphilief her majeſty's confeſſor, and numbers of the parochial clergy: nor can he ever forget the hoſpitable reception and entertainment he received, on a journey in the depth of winter, from the biſhop of Kargapol, at his monaſtery on the banks of the Svir.

not

not only as invited witneſſes and ſponſors on ſolemn occaſions, but often, in the churches of the foreigners, readily contribute to the ſupport of their churches and ſchools, put their children to be educated by foreigners, and intermarry with them without heſitation, to whatever communion they may belong. In ſocial intercourſe never was any trace of religious party-ſpirit diſcernible. Converſations in regard to differences in religion were ſeldom heard; debates on ſubjects of that nature, never.

Examples of this amiable virtue would have turned to the diſgrace of foreigners, had they not ſtroye to follow them. But alſo among theſe a mutual toleration and indulgence prevailed, ſuch as is but rarely ſeen even in the moſt enlightened countries. Clergymen of all religions lived in the greateſt harmony, for the moſt part on an intimate footing. For ſeveral years the reformed and lutheran preachers held weekly meetings, in order to confer on matters of religion and the exerciſe of their duties, and to keep up their union by familiar converſe *. This laudable circle was alſo viſited at times by ſome of the catholic and ruſſian clergy. Not

* Alternately at each other's houſe. They conſiſted of Mr. Martin Luther Wolff, M. Lampe, M. Groſſ, M. Reinbott, M. Krokius, M. Reuter, and the engliſh chaplain.

many

many years ago, when the place of preacher to the german reformed congregation was vacant, the librarian of the academy of ſciences *, who was a lutheran and not in orders, for a long time delivered diſcourſes from their pulpit; and the engliſh chaplain, on ſimilar occaſions, has often exhorted the french calviniſt congregation on the great feſtivals of the church †. It was not unuſual for lutheran preachers to adminiſter the communion to the reformed, and preachers of the latter perſuaſion have delivered funeral ſermons in lutheran churches. Nay, it once happened that a lutheran preacher was ſponſor to a catholic child: as he might eaſily, ſince the catholic prieſt omitted thoſe queſtions to which the other, according to the ſyſtem of his church, could not anſwer in the affirmative. Foreigners of all ſects of religion contracted marriages with each other and with Ruſſians, without attracting the ſlighteſt remark. For his religious opinions, in ſhort, however extraordinary, no man had any thing to apprehend from the government or his equals, if he did not attempt to force them upon others, or ſeek to make

* M. Buſſe, editor of the Peterburgiſche Journal, and other works.

† Properly ſpeaking, it was on the day after theſe feſtivals; otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible.

proſelytes.

proſelytes. A great part of the foreigners even lived without profeſſing themſelves of any eccleſiaſtical connection; but no one ever ſet himſelf up as an inquiſitor into the faith of theſe independents, and none troubled themſelves about them.

The empreſs, not ſatisfied with having appointed a catholic archbiſhop, and eſtabliſhed a ſeminary of jeſuits at Mohilef, and with having ſupported iſlamiſm in the Krimea, ſhe gave to her people almoſt every year ſome ſolemn inſtance of the protection ſhe granted to the liberty of worſhip. On the day of the benediction of the waters, her confeſſor, by her orders, invited to his houſe the eccleſiaſtics of all communions, and gave them a grand entertainment, which Catharine called the Dinner of Toleration *. Accordingly this year, at the ſame table

* Ivan Pamphilief, her majeſty's confeſſor, invited the clergy of the ſeveral communions in Peterſburg to dine with him annually, on the 6th of January; who generally met in a company of fifteen or ſixteen different denominations, all in the ſeveral habits of their church. At theſe agreeable meetings, his eminence Gabriel, metropolitan archbiſhop of Novgorod and St. Peterſburg, always preſided. Pamphilief did the honours of his table, with that hoſpitality and ſuavity of manners for which the ruſſians are ſo famous among all that viſit their country. When wines of various ſorts were ſerved round on a ſalver, the before-mentioned prelate once obſerved,

table were ſeated, the patriarch of Gruſinia or Georgia, the archimandrite of St. Peterſburg, the

obſerved, with a ſenſible alluſion to the occaſion: "Theſe "wines are all good; they differ only in colour and taſte."— The perſons preſent at one of theſe dinners, as an example of the reſt, were: Gabriel, metropolitan; Innocentius, archbiſhop of Pſcove and Riga; Eugenius, archbiſhop of Kherſon, the famous tranſlator of Virgil into greek hexameter verſe; Ivan Pamphilief, the empreſs's confeſſor: all members of the holy ſynod. Other ruſſian clergy were: Innocentius, archimandrite, and rector of the gymnaſium at the monaſtery of St. Alexander Neſſky; Antonius, archimandrite at the imperial corps of noble land-cadets; Baſilius, protopope at the marine cadet-corps; Andrew Samborſky, protopope at St. Sophia, formerly chaplain to the embaſſy at London; Nectarius, monk at the greek gymnaſium; Sergius, monk at the imperial academy of arts; Sergius Livotof, pope of the imperial chapel; Ivan, chaplain at the imperial ſeminary for young ladies; Matthew, chaplain at the artillery and engineer cadet-corps; Baſilius, chaplain at the imperial academy of ſciences; Baſilius, pope of the church of the annunciation; Stackæus, chaplain at the imperial noble land-cadet-corps; Joſeph, deacon at the ſame. Lutheran preachers: Joachim Chriſtian Grot, paſtor of the Catharine church; Jeremiah Lewis Hoffmann, at the land-cadet-corps; Emanuel Indrenius, paſtor of the Swediſh church; John Henry Krogius, paſtor of the Finns church; John George Lampe, alternate preacher at the Peter-church; Thomas Frederic Theodore Reinbott, paſtor of the Anna-church; Martin Luther Wolff, alternate preacher at the Peter-church; Daniel Frederic Zachert, preacher at the artillery and engineer corps. Miniſters of the reformed churches;

the biſhop of Polotſk, the biſhop of Pſcove, a catholic biſhop, a prior of the ſame religion, franciſcans, jeſuits, an armenian prieſt, lutheran preachers, calviniſts, and the engliſh clergyman: in ſhort, here were prieſts of no leſs than eight different forms of worſhip. It has been calculated, that the offices of religion are performed in Peterſburg in fourteen different languages.

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churches: John David Collins, paſtor of the german reformed church; N. Manſbendel, paſtor of the french reformed church; William Tooke, chaplain to the britiſh factory; Mr. Reuter, the dutch reformed preacher; Chriſtian Frederic Gregor, paſtor of the congregation of the unitas fratrum. Roman catholic clergy: Sergius Krachinſky; Petrus Stankievitch; Hieronymus Beroldingen; Johannes de Ducla; Marius Dormagen; Leopold Lafanky. Armenian clergy: Macarius Koſkumof; Stephanus Loriſmilikof; Nikita Tſcherkeſof. Sometimes were preſent tartar moulas and kirghiſtzi prieſts; biſhops and prieſts from the greek iſlands, from Valakhia, Moldavia, and the worthy abbé Guadalupe from Mexico. At the concluſion of the repaſt, which was very ſumptuous, the metropolitan uſually ſaid, with a loud voice, either in ruſs or latin, "Glory to "God in the higheſt! — On earth peace. — Good will to-"wards men!" Which done, the reſt of the evening was ſpent in agreeable and ſometimes facetious diſcourſe, over a deſſert of exquiſite fruit and the choiceſt wines. The gueſts talked to one another in ruſs, german, french, italian, &c. as it might happen to ſuit. But the general converſation was carried on in latin. — The whole of the expence was defrayed by the empreſs, and it was continued for ſeveral years.

Ever

Ever ſince the commencement of her reign, Catharine had laboured with unremitted aſſiduity in diffuſing inſtruction among her people. She had already, as we have ſeen, founded houſes of education in ſeveral towns. She now took up the reſolution of eſtabliſhing them in like manner in various parts of the country. To this end a commiſſion of public inſtruction was erected at the head of which was placed her former favourite Zavodoffsky, who, without reſuming his office in that capacity, was however taken again into diſtinguiſhed notice, and had been appointed ſecretary of the cabinet, and governor of the Lombard, or loan bank.

This being an eſtabliſhment of ſo ſingular a nature, deſerves a little further mention. The empreſs, reverſing the uſual order of things, inſtead of borrowing money from her ſubjects, now became the great money-lender of the empire. Upon this principle ſhe opened a bank, the capital of which conſiſted of 33 millions of rubles; and was empowered to emit bills, with the currency of money, to the amount of 100 millions more; (which, at the loweſt evaluation of the ruble at that time, amounted to 20 millions ſterling;) but it was particularly reſtricted from ever exceeding this prodigious emiſſion of paper. Of the capital fund, 22 millions were to be lent to the nobility

nobility for the term of 20 years, upon mortgages on their eſtates, at an intereſt of five *per cent.* beſides a payment of three *per cent.* which was to be applied annually towards the diſcharge of the original debt. The mortgages were not to include the whole eſtate; but ſuch a number of villages, with the peaſants appertaining to them, as ſhould appear to the directors a ſufficient ſecurity; the male peaſants to be eſtimated at 40 rubles per head, the females at 30, well-grown boys and girls at 12. The mortgaged eſtates were not ſubject to confiſcation; but heavy pecuniary mulcts were to ariſe upon any delay in paying either the five *per cent.* intereſt, or the three *per cent.* which is allotted to the diſcharge of the principal; and if theſe mulcts be not ſufficient to remedy the contumacy or neglect, the directors were to take the adminiſtration of the eſtate into their own hands. Four periods were ſtated in the courſe of the term, at any of which the borrower might redeem his eſtate by paying off the reſt of the debt.

The remaining 11 millions of the capital were deſtined to the encouragement both of foreign commerce and of the internal trade of the empire, by being lent out to merchants and retail dealers for the term of 22 years, at only four *per cent.* intereſt, with the ſame annual applica-

tion of three *per cent.* towards the diſcharge of the principal. The bank was likewiſe to act as an inſurance-office with reſpect to fire; but the houſes muſt be built of brick or ſtone; and all foreigners as well as natives were admitted to the privilege of depoſiting their money in it, and of having her majeſty's imperial word pledged to them as a ſecurity.

In the commiſſion for the normal ſchools, after Zavodoffsky came the learned Æpinus *, and Paſtukoff †, private ſecretary to the empreſs. The other members of the commiſſion were perſons of no conſequence, admitted through Zavodoffsky's intereſt.

The commiſſion was much divided in opinion touching the manner of inſtituting the normal ſchools, ſo as to fulfil the intentions of the empreſs. Æpinus, who was apprehenſive leſt obſtinacy and ignorance ſhould prevent the execution of the project, adviſed the adoption of the auſtrian method; and after much reſiſtance, his opinion was agreed to. He was undoubtedly

* Æpinus had been preceptor to Paul Petrovitch. He is a man not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his virtues than by his extenſive erudition. He has publiſhed ſeveral pieces on the mathematics, and a theory of the loadſtone, much eſteemed.

† Paſtukoff was likewiſe employed in the education of the grand duke Paul.

aware

aware of the defects in the auſtrian practice; but he thought it better to erect imperfect ſeminaries, ſuſceptible of progreſſive correction, than to have none of any kind.

The empreſs then propoſed a variety of queſtions to Joſeph II. concerning the normal ſchools of Auſtria: in conſequence of which the emperor ſent Yankovitch to her, as a man qualified to impart to her the information ſhe required. Yankovitch, an old country ſchoolmaſter, deſtitute of all talents, was no ſooner arrived at Peterſburg, than he was decorated with the title of counſellor of ſtate, appointed director of the normal ſchools, and aſſeſſor to the commiſſion of public inſtruction. He became, at the ſame time, the flatterer of Zavodoffsky and the antagoniſt of Æpinus.

The importance attached by the empreſs to her commiſſion of public inſtruction was ſuch, that ſhe was perpetually employed in ſending notes to them, communicative of her ideas for bringing to due perfection theſe normal ſchools. Moreover, ſhe attended them herſelf while the leſſons were performing.

A learned German *, member of the academy of ſciences, conſented to be profeſſor of geo-

* A native of Hanover, who compoſed the only accurate work on the geography of Ruſſia that ever appeared.

graphy and hiſtory in the ruſſian language: a very fortunate circumſtance; as no Ruſſian would have been capable of it. Catharine, being preſent one day, with ſeveral of her courtiers, at a lecture which the academician was delivering to the ſeveral tribes that inhabit Siberia, after liſtening to him with fixed attention, ſhe beſtowed great commendation on him both for his knowledge and his zeal. She afterwards propoſed an objection to ſome of his obſervations; to which he replied in the moſt ſatisfactory manner. Zavodoffsky and ſome others, unaccuſtomed to ſee a literary man utter an opinion contradictory to that of the ſovereign, ſeemed to take fire at this great inſtance of preſumption; but the empreſs was eager to acknowledge that ſhe had been led into a miſtake; and returned thanks to the academician for having rectified it with ſo much ability. Obſerving, at the ſame time, the diſpleaſure of Zavodoffsky, ſhe embraced the opportunity offered her by the moment of his attending her to the carriage, to order him to repeat her thanks to the profeſſor. This, however, did not prevent the preſident of the board of inſtruction from puniſhing this worthy man for his courage, by turning him out of his place, and even out of his lodgings. Theſe particulars may perhaps appear of little conſe-

conſequence; but every thing that tends to the exhibition of perſonal character is always fit matter for biography.

A victory claimed by Ruſſia was pretty well authenticated by the capture of a Tartar khan, two of his ſons, and a nephew, who were all brought priſoners to Peterſburg. This action was, however, acknowledged to have been very ſevere; and it was owned, that in the beginning the ſhock fell ſo heavily upon the regiment of Aſtrakhan, that it was defeated, ruined, and its colonel killed.

In the latter part of the year 1785, great havoc was made and execution done among the kuban Tartars, by the Ruſſians. It would ſeem that the whole nation had been either ſubdued, cut off, or totally ruined, by the deſtruction of their villages, and the loſs of their flocks and herds at the approach of winter. Brigadier-general Apraxin and a colonel Nagel diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly about this time, either againſt the kuban, or ſome other nations of Tartars; for, from the looſe accounts that were always publiſhed of theſe tranſactions, we cannot pretend to aſcertain dates, places, or circumſtances. It appears, however, that colonel Nagel had the honour of being the firſt who defeated the new prophet, ſheik Manſour, and his adherents;

who, being diſappointed in the ſuccour which he had taught them to expect from heaven, were doomed to a ſore conviction, that their fanaticiſm was no proof whatever againſt the ruſſian bayonets. The prophet fought boldly on foot, at the head of ſeven or eight thouſand of his followers, who were in the ſame ſituation (which evidently ſhews that they were not Tartars); and his own reliance on the divine aid appears to have been ſo weak, that as a ſubſtitute he employed his invention in the conſtruction of ſome ſort of rolling machines, which in their approach to the enemy they puſhed on before them, as a cover from their fire. But the ruſſian foot ruſhing on furiouſly with their bayonets, and the cavalry falling in pell-mell upon the wings and rear, this rabble was ſoon routed, and purſued with unremitting ſlaughter. The impoſtor was wounded, but had the fortune to eſcape.

1786. Yermoloff had arrived at the pinnacle of favour; and he was thruſt from it by his own imprudence. This favourite, tall, fair complectioned, and of a figure declarative of a ſoul that could not be rouſed from apathy, was jealous to an extreme. He preſently behaved ungratefully to prince Potemkin, to whom he owed his fortune. He eagerly laid hold of every opportunity that offered to injure him; and it was only

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in oppoſition to him that he defended the unhappy khan Sahim-Gueray, the payment of whoſe penſion was cruelly neglected. The empreſs, who became every day more indulgent to her lovers, ſhewed ſome coolneſs to Potemkin, and even to the ambaſſador of France, whoſe intereſt at court gave equal offence to Yermoloff.

Bezborodko, Alexander Vorontzoff, and ſome others of the court, contributed, by their inſtigations, to exaſperate the favourite. Yermoloff had an uncle named Levaſheff, whom Potemkin had diſmiſſed from the ſervice with diſgrace, in conſequence of a quarrel at play*, in which this Levaſheff

* Potemkin played enormouſly high, but always generouſly. — Being at Mohilef, where this brutal Paſſick was commandant, and who had been raiſed to a general's rank in reward for the part he had taken in the dethronement of Peter III. he pointed at pharao; Paſſick, who cut, had the effrontery to try to ſlip away a card. Potemkin perceived it, took him by the collar, and gave him about 20 cuffs in the face; after which he ſet out for Peterſburg. All that were preſent at this ſcene looked upon Paſſick as a loſt man. But having a daughter who was maid of honour to the empreſs, and who moreover was very handſome, ſhe eaſily obtained the delinquent's pardon. Potemkin was often hurried away by his paſſions. He once ſtruck prince Vaſſili D. under pretence that this prince took the part of general Kretſchetnikoff; but the real cauſe of his anger was, that, being fond of the princeſs D. ſhe had reſiſted

Levaſheff had the wrong ſide of the queſtion. Yermoloff complained of it to the empreſs. Potemkin being reproved by her majeſty felt himſelf ſo hurt by it, that he haughtily ſaid to her:—"Madam, there is but one alternative, "you muſt either diſmiſs Yermoloff, or me: "for, ſo long as you keep that white negro *, I "ſhall not ſet my foot within the palace."—The ſame day Yermoloff received orders to travel. Momonoff ſucceeded him.

Theſe intrigues were ſcarcely heard of beyond the precincts of the court: and Catharine's love of glory was univerſally known.

During his travels into the inner parts of Ruſſia, the learned profeſſor Pallas had collected a great number of natural curioſities, and by this means had formed a valuable cabinet. The empreſs purchaſed it of him at a very round price; as ſhe had alſo ſome years before pur-

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his importunities. He alſo ſtruck Prince Volkonſky, becauſe, while at table, that prince clapped his hands at ſome witticiſm from this deſpotic favourite. Prince Potemkin roſe up, took him by the collar, gave him ſeveral blows with his fiſt, ſaying, "What! you applaud me as if I were "a buffoon!" Then, turning to the auſtrian general Jordis, who was alſo at table: "There, general," ſaid he "that is the way to treat this ſort of ſcoundrels."

* Potemkin called Yermoloff by that name, becauſe he was ſo extremely fair.

chaſed

chaſed the library of d'Alembert and that of Voltaire *.

Several

* Voltaire had not long been dead when Catharine commiſſioned her correſpondent at Paris to buy for her the library of the author of "Mahomet." Madame Denis, who had inherited that library, told the correſpondent that ſhe would not ſell it, but that ſhe would willingly make her homage of it to the empreſs. Upon this her majeſty wrote her the following letter:

"Peterſburg, Aug. 15, 1778.

"I juſt now learn, madam, that you conſent to make a "ſurrender to me of that precious depoſit left you by "your late uncle, that library which ſouls of ſenſibility "will never behold without recollecting that this great man "had the art of inſpiring mankind with that univerſal "benevolence, which all his writings breathe, even thoſe "of mere entertainment, becauſe his ſoul was deeply pene-"trated with it. No man before him ever wrote like him: "to future generations he will be both an example and "a rock. To equal him, genius and philoſophy muſt "unite in one perſon with literature and entertainment; in "a word, he muſt be M. de Voltaire. If, with all Europe "I have taken part in your grief, madam, for the loſs of "that incomparable man, you have entitled yourſelf to "participate in the grateful returns I owe to his writings. "I am, indeed, extremely ſenſible to the eſteem and the "confidence which you ſhew me. It is highly flattering "to me to ſee that they are hereditary in your family. The "generoſity of your behaviour is your ſecurity for my "favourable ſentiments in regard to you. I have written "to Monſieur de Grimm † to deliver to you ſome in-

† M. Grimm was at Paris the literary correſpondent of the empreſs.

"conſiderable

Several travellers had at various times, by her orders, traverſed the northern Archipelago, and the remoteſt of the ruſſian provinces. In the year 1785 ſhe ſent again ſeveral learned perſons, ſome towards Caucaſus, others to the frontiers of China, for the purpoſe of diſcovering, exploring, and examining, the moſt remote provinces, and the yet unknown parts of that immenſe empire. The difficulties and perils to which this expedition by land was ſuppoſed liable, through the trackleſs deſerts which were to be explored, the inhoſpitality of the climates, and the barbarity of the nations that were to be encountered, with the numberleſs obſtacles of various ſorts that were to be ſurmounted, rendered the proſpect much more terrible than it had appeared to our circumnavigators in any of their late great voyages of diſcovery. The boldeſt

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" conſiderable teſtimonies of it, which I deſire you to " accept.

" CATHARINE."

Her majeſty had written on the cover: — " For madame " Denis, niece of a great man who loved me much." At the concluſion of this letter, the empreſs requeſted of madame Denis a plan in relief of the façade and of the interior diſtribution of the château de Ferney, as well as the gardens and its avenues, as ſhe propoſed to have a building exactly like it in the grounds adjacent to Tzarſko-ſelo.

and

and moſt enterpriſing perſons of all nations were accordingly ſought out for this undertaking, and high rewards and promiſes held out as an encouragement to their zeal and perſeverance. Baron de Valchen Stedtz, who had a regiment of cavalry in the empreſs's ſervice, was appointed commander in chief upon this expedition. His corps conſiſted of 810 choſen men, who were led on by 107 officers of different degrees of diſtinction, and accompanied by pioneers, artillery-men, handicraftmen, draughtſmen, engineers, an hiſtoriographer, and naturaliſts. It need ſcarcely be obſerved, that they were amply provided with all manner of neceſſaries, and that they were furniſhed with credentials ſuited to every circumſtance and ſituation. It was ſuppoſed that the expedition could not be completed within three years.

The only fruit of their diſcoveries which came to the knowledge of the public was that of a ſmall fugitive colony of ſtrangers and chriſtians, whom they found ſhut up from the world in a moſt ſequeſtered part of the wilds of Caucaſus; and who, in the language of the country, are called Tſchetſhes. Theſe poor people are ſaid to lead lives of the moſt exemplary piety, and to exhibit a primæval ſimplicity of manners. They are totally ignorant of their origin, any

farther than knowing that they are ſtrangers, as which they are likewiſe conſidered by the ſcattered neighbouring nations. From an affinity in their language, and ſome other circumſtances, they are ſuppoſed to be deſcended from a colony of Bohemians, who flying from the religious perſecutions in their own country towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, found at length a refuge from oppreſſion, in the diſtance from the reſt of mankind which theſe remote deſerts afforded.

Not ſatisfied with the diſcoveries which this expedition by land might produce, the empreſs formed another by ſea about the ſame time, in order to extend and aſcertain thoſe which, within the preſent century, have been unſucceſsfully attempted or imperfectly made by different ruſſian navigators. Lieutenant-colonel Blaumeyer was appointed to conduct this expedition, and commiſſioned to take along with him, beſides able navigators, a number of perſons ſkilled in various arts, to aſſiſt in making proper inquiries, and in turning to the greateſt advantage ſuch diſcoveries as they might make, or were already made. They were to embark at the mouth of the river Anadyr, and to proſecute with greater accuracy and ſtricter obſervation thoſe diſcoveries which had been made by former navigators, of

ſeveral

ſeveral inhabited iſlands lying about the 64th degree of latitude, in ſituations advantageous for trade. They were then to double Tchukotſkoïnoſs, and entering the ſtraits which ſeparate Siberia from America, to purſue their voyage at leaſt to the 74th degree of latitude; but if they found the ſeas practicable, to proceed as much farther as circumſtances would permit.

It is a ſingular circumſtance, at leaſt in the modern hiſtory of the old world, for a prince to be under the neceſſity of undertaking great expeditions by ſea and land, in order to diſcover new countries within his own dominions. Such is the vaſtneſs of that unbounded empire!

But the great work, which, if ever it be completed, will be a laſting monument to the glory of Catharine, is the navigable canal in the province of Tver, which, by opening a communication between the river Tvertza and the Miſta, the former of which falls directly into the Volga, and the latter, by the great lakes, opens the paſſage to the Neva, will not only eſtabliſh an inland navigation through all the vaſt countries that lie between the ſhores of the Caſpian and the Baltic, but will actually unite theſe diſtant ſeas; an union unexampled in the hiſtory of mankind.

Theſe

Theſe enterpriſes have by ſome been attributed rather to a vain deſire in Catharine of cauſing her name to be reſounded throughout Europe, than from a real love of the ſciences. In confirmation of which it has been obſerved, that in the latter caſe care would have been taken to publiſh to the world whatever theſe travellers had diſcovered, either without or within her extenſive dominions. But, though their departure was always emphatically announced, their return was only attended by a clandeſtine light.

In 1784 Mr. Pallas conceived the plan of a new expedition to the northern Archipelago, and drew up inſtructions for the navigator who was to be employed in it. This navigator was Billings, the Engliſhman, who had been aſſiſtant-aſtronomer to the juſtly celebrated captain Cook, in his voyages round the world. One of his inſtructions was, to find out a port for eſtabliſhing an admiralty; meaning thereby, a port for building, putting into dock, and ſtationing ſhips of war and other veſſels. He firſt proceeded to the river Kovima, where he cauſed a veſſel to be built, for the purpoſe of doubling Tchukotſkoïnoſs, but in this attempt he was not able to ſucceed.

The

The year following Billings failed about the iſlands of the eaſtern ocean, departing from Okhotzk and the bay of Avatſha as far as the coaſts of Japan. A captain of the navy was ſent to join him in 1787, and to examine the coaſt as far as the mouth of the Amoor, and to fix on a port. Oud, not far from the entrance of that river, was the place they choſe. At the diſtance of 200 verſts ſouth of Oud, they alſo found a very fine harbour beyond the chineſe frontier. It was at length determined to erect the admiralty on the american coaſt, either at Prince William's ſound or at Comptroller's bay. They explored likewiſe many other excellent havens on the american coaſt. Catharine wrote in 1788 to theſe captains, and to the commander of the ruſſian fortreſſes, that ſhe had ſent ſix ſhips from the Baltic to Kamtchatka, to co-operate with a powerful army that was to go down the Amoor, and take poſſeſſion of its banks to its mouth, and all the country to the left. Captain Billings even conſtructed the charts of his voyage; but the diſcoveries which he made are not of much importance. He, however, collected ſeveral curioſities, and brought to Peterſburg a native of Unalaſhka, and a woman whom the inhabitants of that iſland had carried off from the ſhores of America,

America, and who related that ſhe came from a part of the continent very remote from that coaſt.

Being returned to Peterſburg, captain Billings began to put into order, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Pallas, the journal of his voyage *. But it is much to be feared that the work will break off in the middle, and, like thoſe we ſpoke of before, be loſt to the public †.

The

* John Ledyard, the American, if he had not been ſtopped on his journey, was the man who would doubtleſs have given us much excellent information; having about 16 years ago formed the deſign of travelling on foot to the Tſchouktſchis, of croſſing Behring's ſtraits with ſome of them, and thence proceeding to the engliſh ſettlements at Hudſon's bay. He undertook this extraordinary journey alone and unarmed. He was arreſted at Yakutſk, under pretence of his being a ſpy, and conveyed away to the frontiers of Pruſſia, whence he returned to England. This intrepid pedeſtrian went afterwards to Ægypt in the deſign of traverſing all Africa on foot: but death put a ſtop to his noble undertaking at Grand Cairo.

† All that can be collected from ſome private letters is, that the queſtion ſo long in doubt about the north-eaſt paſſage, ſeems to be at length fairly negatived by the following curious fact, eſtabliſhing the eternal icy barriers of Phips, Cook, and Billings, viz. Regularly every ſpring immenſe herds of rein-deer, thouſands and ten thouſands ſtrong, come over to the open plains on the aſiatic ſide, to avoid the inſects of the cloſe damp american woods, and as regularly go back

The empreſs, deſirous of augmenting the population of Kerſon, and her newly-acquired provinces of Taurida and Caucaſus, publiſhed a manifeſto inviting foreigners to come and ſettle in thoſe countries. We ſhall here inſert a few fragments from it.

"The protection which we habitually grant "to ſtrangers who come either to carry on their "commerce, or to exert their induſtry in our "empire, is generally known. Every one may "enjoy in our dominions the free exerciſe of the "religion of his fathers, a perfect ſecurity, and "the protection of the laws and government. "All the neceſſaries and the accommodations of "life, as well as the means of acquiring riches, "there offer themſelves, both from the fertility "of the ſoil, and the objects adapted to com-"merce. The territory of Caucaſus, in ſub-"miſſion to our ſceptre, affords all theſe reſources

back every Auguſt, feeding on the moſs of the intermediate iſlands in their paſſage.

Now, as that is the very time when the continued action of the ſummer's heat muſt have opened the ſea, if ever it did thaw; an open paſſage is out of all probability; and indeed Billings gives it as his opinion, that the thickneſs of the ice, every where, (except juſt about the mouths of large rivers, whoſe warmer waters make a partial opening as far as they extend,) is ſuch, that a ten years continued ſummer would ſcarce reduce it to a fluid ſtate.

" in greater abundance than the other provinces " of our empire. Foreigners who are willing " to ſettle there, whether in the towns, or in the " country, will be ſure to find a peaceful aſylum " with many advantages. . . . . They ſhall be, " during ſix years, exempt from all duties to the " crown. If, at the expiration of that term, " they ſhall ſignify their intention to leave our " dominions, they ſhall be at full liberty to go, " on paying only the value of the impoſts of " three years *."

By another manifeſto, which appeared within a few months after the former, the empreſs declared to all the inhabitants of Ruſſia and Tartary, that it was no longer required of them, in addreſſes to her, to call themſelves her *ſlaves*, but only her *ſubjects* †. That princeſs was not

* This manifeſto bears date from Tzarſko-ſelo, the 14th of July 1785.—By her ſucceſſor Paul I. the two ſea-ports of Feodoſia and Evpatoria in Taurida have been declared free ports for a term of thirty years, and leave has been granted to all ruſſian, as well as foreign merchants, not only to import all ſorts of goods and merchandizes into the above ports duty free, but alſo to export them thence to all other places in Taurida, without paying either cuſtoms or other duty.

† Letters, memorials, and petitions, with eraſures in them might be preſented to her without danger of her taking offence. She never imagined that there was any intention therein of inſulting her dignity.

ignorant

ignorant of the means of rendering herſelf popular, and ſhe often employed them with art. One of thoſe which ſerved greatly to render her ſo, was the care ſhe took of children. Whether from inclination or from policy, ſhe had always a great number of them in her apartments. There they enjoyed the ſame liberty with the princes her grandchildren; and ſhe returned their careſſes with extreme complaiſance.

The ſame ſtyle of outward magnificence, with the ſame munificent ſpirit in the diſpoſal of bounties or rewards, which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the court of Peterſburg through the reign of Catharine, ſtill continued to be its principal characteriſtics. Every thing that comes within theſe deſcriptions was done in the higheſt ſtyle of grandeur, and ſeemed not only ſuited to the preſent greatneſs, but to the riſing hope and fortune of that empire. Indeed the empreſs proceeded upon ſo large a ſcale in theſe matters, that it ſeemed rather to be graduated by an aſiatic than an european model. It is not often ſeen, at leaſt in the weſtern world, that a great military power, whoſe ambition and armaments ſpread apprehenſion or terror all round, and which ſeemed almoſt conſtantly looking for war, ſhould at the ſame time exceed all others in the ſplendid eſtabliſhments of peace and luxury.

The empreſs had publicly announced, in the beginning of the year of which we are treating, her intention of making a magnificent progreſs to Kerſon and the Krimea, in order to her being crowned ſovereign of the new conqueſts. This deſign was apparently conceived at firſt in the moſt ſplendid ideas of eaſtern magnificence and grandeur. It was given out, that Catharine was to be crowned queen of Taurida, and to be declared protectreſs of all the nations of Tartars. That, in order to render the ſolemnization of this great act the more auguſt, awful, and more extenſively ſtriking, ſhe was to be attended by the metropolitan, by ſix other archbiſhops, and by a great body of the clergy; which with the court and its attendants, would have formed a prodigious train. Triumphal arches were to be erected, and enriched with ſculptures, devices, and inſcriptions, on the approaches to Kerſon, and in the town. The empreſs was to be drawn on the latter part of the way in a triumphal car, with a wreath of laurel on her head; and the concourſe of people was expected to be ſo great, that the multitudes which attend the pilgrimages to Mecca would no longer be regarded as a wonder. She was beſides to be eſcorted by a formidable army, to conſiſt of no leſs than ſix regiments of cavalry, and 22 of infantry.

fantry. The magnificence of the proceſſion, whether by land or by water, was to be ſuited to that of the grand concluding ceremonial. A fleet of gallies were built on the Dniepr; and, beſides their embelliſhments and decorations, were to be furniſhed with all the accommodations neceſſary for a court, or uſually found in a great city. It ſeemed as if coſt was a matter not to be thought of in theſe preparations; and it is ſcarcely credible, though poſitively aſſerted, that the prodigious ſum of 7,000,000 of rubles * had been originally dedicated to the purpoſe only of thoſe preſents which were to be diſtributed at the coronation.

The ſame allowance is probably to be made for vanity and exaggeration in ſome of theſe accounts, which is uſually neceſſary in ſimilar caſes: but it is certain, however, that every thing that could be conceived ſplendid or grand, was included in the original deſign, and the uſual magnificence of the empreſs ſeems to give a ſanction to the whole. It is likewiſe to be remembered, that there was a grand political object in view in this ſplendour and expence; that it was undoubtedly expected that all the adjoining nations would have been either terrified

* Amounting to about 1,500,000l. ſterling.

by the power, or faſcinated by the pomp, ſplendour, and wealth which were now to be diſplayed; and that the tartar chiefs, under theſe impreſſions, would not only have rendered the ſcene truly glorious, by coming from all parts to do homage to the new monarch of the eaſt, but that ſhe would thereby have enlarged and ſecured her dominion without the trouble of war and conqueſt.

The reigning duke of Courland had long been out of favour at the court of Peterſburg, and being now repreſented or ſuppoſed to be in a precarious ſtate of health, it afforded an opportunity of marching a body of ruſſian troops into that duchy, under the colour of ſupporting the freedom of election in caſe of his demiſe; a pretence ſufficient to excite the riſibility of thoſe who were not too ſeriouſly affected by their intereſt in the country to laugh at being reminded of its condition.

CHAP. XIV.

Catharine II. takes a journey to the Krimea. — Aſſaſſination of khan Sahim-Gueray. — The Turks declare war againſt Ruſſia. — Guſtavus III. invades Finland. — Sea-fight between the Swedes and the Ruſſians. — Bentzelſtierna makes an attempt to burn the ruſſian fleet at Copenhagen. — Capture of Otchakoff. — Peace of Varela. — Victories obtained over the Turks. — Capture of Iſmail. — Diſmiſſion of Momonoff. — Elevation of Zuboff. — The court of Great Britain ſends Mr. Fawkener to Peterſburg. — Peace of Yaſſi. — Death of prince Potemkin. — 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792.

THE grand political object which Catharine had in view in this intended diſplay of magnificence and power, was, after having ſolemnly taken the ſceptre of the Krim, and awed the ſurrounding nations into ſubmiſſion, to conduct her grandſon Conſtantine * to the gates of that Oriental

* At his birth he was put into the hands of greek nurſes fetched on purpoſe from the iſle of Naxos. He was always

Oriental Empire to which ſhe had deſtined him from his birth. All was in movement for completing the preparations, when the young prince fell ſick of the meaſles, and he was obliged to be left at Peterſburg. This circumſtance, together with the news of ſome ſkirmiſhes, and even more ſerious engagements that had happened in the Krim between the Ruſſians and the Tartars, occaſioned a great alteration in the ſcheme of the progreſs to Kerſon. It was now greatly narrowed in the deſign, was diſincumbered of much of its intended ſuperb magnificence; the great object of the coronation, and of the aſſumption of new titles was entirely given up; the formidable military force that was expected did not attend; the proceſſion did not take place at the time propoſed; and the only end obtained, ſaving the conferences held with the king of Poland and the emperor, was nothing more than the empreſs's ſhewing herſelf to the new ſubjects, and appearing to take ſome ſort of formal poſſeſſion of Kerſon and the Krimea.

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always dreſſed in the faſhion of the Greeks, and ſurrounded by children of that nation, that he might acquire the greek language, which he ſoon ſpoke with great facility. It was even in regard to him that the grecian cadet corps of 200 cadets was eſtabliſhed.

The

The Georgians, Leſghis, and other Tartars that inhabit theſe unmeaſured, and almoſt unknown regions, and who ſeem ſcarcely to know any particular owner, as ſoon as the report of the intended grand progreſs was ſpread amongſt them, inſtead of producing the expected effect, in dazzling or terrifying theſe Tartars, it ſerved, on the contrary, as a ſignal of general and immediate danger, to cement their union in the ſtrongeſt manner, and to urge them to the greateſt poſſible exertion, and to the moſt determined reſiſtance. This ſoon became apparent; and the war of the Krimea was growing daily more ſerious.

The meetings and conferences of great and ambitious monarchs, have ever been deemed dangerous to their equals in power, and terrible to their inferiors. If all former inſtances of their nature and effect had been forgotten, the combination which deſolated the kingdom of Poland, might ſerve to warn mankind in ſimilar caſes. It can therefore be no matter of ſurpriſe, that the ottoman court, which had already received proofs of no very diſintereſted diſpoſitions in its great chriſtian neighbours, ſhould have been to the laſt degree alarmed by the approaching congreſs at Kerſon; where the bands of union were to be cemented and drawn more ſtraitly between

two

two of the moſt formidable powers in the univerſe; whoſe ambition was at leaſt equal to their power; and whoſe object in this meeting was underſtood as aiming at nothing leſs than the ſubverſion of that empire.

And as if this combination of the two imperial powers of Ruſſia and Germany had not been in itſelf ſufficiently alarming and dangerous, the poor king of Poland, who had already been the victim to their mutual enmity, was now, upon their ambition taking a new direction, called to participate, in ſome ſmall degree, in the fruits of their union. He could not indeed add much, nor perhaps any thing, to the ſcale of hoſtile power againſt the ottomans by actual exertion; but this was not, in fact, the kind of aid which the great allies wanted, and wiſhed to draw from him. Their own forces were ſufficiently numerous to anſwer all the purpoſes to which, from the nature of things, armies could be applied with effect.

Poland in repoſe, was equal in value to the activity of any other ally. By its ſituation it was capable of uniting the two empires in ſuch a manner as to render their force one, and enable their combined or ſeparate armies to make their impreſſion in any one or different parts of three-fourths of a vaſt circle, by which they would

would then embrace ſo great a part of the turkiſh frontiers. Its products were no leſs valuable. Beſides abundant room for winter quarters, hoſpitals, magazines, places of refreſhment, and all thoſe other appendages neceſſary to great armies, the country was to be conſidered as a vaſt granary, teeming with every kind of proviſion; nor were its military reſources deſpicable with reſpect to men; but in regard to horſes, cattle, and forage, they were unequalled. Thus was Poland capable of becoming a moſt uſeful member of the confederacy; an acceſſion of hoſtile ſtrength, which to the ottomans would be the more intolerably grievous from the recollection, that all their late misfortunes, along with the preſent unproſperous ſtate of their affairs, originated in their apparently generous endeavours to preſerve the freedom and independence of that republic, and to prevent the alienation of her dominions, in oppoſition to the rapacious views of thoſe very powers with whom ſhe was now to be leagued againſt them.

It was afterwards even rumoured that the king's friendſhip (limited as his authority was) had been ſecured, in one of the conferences held on this memorable progreſs to Kerſon, by the preſent of a very large ſum of money (amounting to near half a million ſterling) in rubles;

rubles; and that report had ſo much effect, that he was publicly charged, at the enſuing diet, with having, at that conference, entered into private conditions inimical to the republic; and the decided part which with apparent riſque to himſelf, he had taken in ſupport of the ruſſian views and intereſt, undoubtedly afforded ſome colour to the charge, yet it ſhould likewiſe be remembered, that he owed his ſeat on the throne to the empreſs of Ruſſia; and that gratitude being one of the moſt predominant qualities of his private character, he had never ſince omitted any opportunity of ſhewing his ſenſe of that obligation; and had, perhaps, under that impreſſion, in ſome caſes, confounded the virtues of the man too much with the duties of the ſovereign.

We have ſhewn the very intereſting appeal, under the form of a declaration or manifeſto, which the grand ſignior made in the year 1786, not only to his own ſubjects, but to the whole race of Mohammedans, ſhewing the common danger to which they were liable ſhortly to be expoſed, and calling upon them, by every thing dear or ſacred to men, to prepare and unite, with hearts and with hands, in order to repel the deſigns of their implacable enemy, whoſe views were not directed to conqueſt, but to exter-

extermination, and who, if they were permitted to ſucceed, would ſtop at nothing ſhort of the utter annihilation of the ottoman name, and the extinction of all true believers from the face of the earth.

It is little to be doubted that an appeal of ſo new and extraordinary a nature, coming from a ſovereign ſo great, and a name which had for ſo many ages been in the higheſt degree revered, cloathed in the moſt pathetic language, and ſtating circumſtances of ſuch evident injury as would have intereſted the feelings of ſtrangers, and even thoſe of a different communion, muſt have operated moſt powerfully in all thoſe wide regions where the Mohammedan creed predominated. Such was the ſtate of things, and ſuch the ſeaſon of apprehenſion and alarm, that every muſſulman was already, in imagination, ſnatching up his weapons, and ruſhing to the common defence, when the report was ſpread abroad of the imperial Catharine's intended triumphal proceſſion to Kerſon, to receive the homage of conquered nations, and to celebrate with an oſtentation unknown to later ages the triumph of her arms, and her inauguration to new kingdoms and empires. The vaſtneſs and prodigality of the original deſign, with the powerful army which was included

cluded in it, were of themſelves ſufficient to ſpread amazement and terror on all ſides; but when to this was added the effect produced by the language of flattery and of vanity on the ſpot, and the application incident to all reports, in proportion to the length of their courſe, it is not to be wondered at if this ſpectacle was magnified and rendered more terrific in the conception of diſtant and ignorant nations.

But it was not merely the gratification of feminine vanity in celebrating a triumph over a fallen enemy, however diſtaſteful and odious ſuch a celebration muſt neceſſarily be, that chiefly affected the ottomans with regard to this progreſs. A report was ſpread, and the opinion very generally received, that the empreſs of Ruſſia's ambition ſoared ſo high, that the acquiſition of provinces or kingdoms were little farther eſtimated by her, than as they might lead to the attainment of her grand object; and that this was nothing leſs than the placing of her ſecond grandſon, prince Conſtantine, on the throne of the ancient greek emperors at Conſtantinople; and thereby eſtabliſhing, in her own family, two mighty empires, capable, perhaps, of ſubverting Europe and Aſia. The chriſtian name of that prince was brought as circumſtantial evidence in ſupport of this opi-

nion; and the conduct of Ruſſia in various reſpects, ſince the concluſion of the peace of Kainardgi, the conditions of which ſhe had ſo frequently violated, were brought as farther corroborations. Particularly her continual endeavours to weaken the ottoman empire, by looſening her dependencies on every ſide, both in Europe and in Aſia, and exciting the vaſſal princes to withdraw from their allegiance: her debauching the Greeks in all places, through the agency of her conſuls, and rendering them ripe for rebellion; her inſidious arts to excite inſurrections in Ægypt, by offering to render the turbulent beys ſovereigns of their reſpective provinces under her protection; and her unceaſing efforts to corrupt even thoſe muſſulman officers, who held public employments, civil or military, in all parts adjoining to the frontiers.

The ruined Tartars too, who had been driven from the Krimea, and their other ancient ſeats, filled all places with their complaints of the puſillanimity of the porte in thus abandoning them, and called loudly upon heaven and earth for juſtice and vengeance. Now the intended and avowed enthronement of Catharine, would be affixing a final ſeal to all the uſurpations of Ruſſia ſince the peace of Kainardgi; for as

ſuch

ſuch the porte conſidered, or affected to conſider, the ſeizure of the Krimea and of the neighbouring countries; inſiſting, that, as they had only been obtained by fraud and circumvention, in the midſt of peace, no claim could lie againſt them by the laws of arms as a conqueſt, and it would not be pretended that the Ruſſians could have any prior right to them; and as to the ſubſequent convention, which ſeemed to give a ſanction to the ſeizure, they aſſerted it was only a temporary meaſure, adopted for the preſent to divert the evils of war, until an equitable arrangement of frontier between the two empires could take place, the Tartars ſhould be reſtored to their rights, and their future independence firmly eſtabliſhed. It was further ſaid, that it would be an extraordinary violation of all laws, human and divine, for the porte to pretend to barter or aſſign the rights and dominions of others; and it would render the injuſtice ſtill more flagrant and odious, if they concurred, in any degree, in ſtripping the race of Timur, their perpetual allies, and eventual ſucceſſors to the ottoman throne, of the patrimony which they derived from their glorious anceſtors. Such were not the principles upon which their government acted; juſtice and good faith, whether with

reſpect

reſpect to muſſulmans or chriſtians, were the invariable maxims of the porte.

The empreſs ſet out *, accompanied by her ladies of honour, by the favourite Momonoff, the grand-ecuyer Nariſhkin, count Ivan Chernicheff, the two counts Shuvaloff, and ſeveral more of the courtiers, with the ambaſſadors of Auſtria and France, and the engliſh envoy. The ſledges travelled night and day. A great number of horſes had been previouſly collected at every ſtation; great fires were lighted at the diſtance of every thirty fathom, and an immenſe crowd of perſons attracted by curioſity ſkirted the road.

On the ſixth day the empreſs arrived at Smolenſk. Fifteen days after ſhe made her entry into Kief, where the princes Sapieha and Lubomirſky, the Potockis, the Branitſkies, and moſt of the other nobles of Poland who were devoted to Ruſſia, had repaired to meet the ſovereign.

Prince Potemkin had gone on before. He joined her at Kief, as well as prince Naſſau-Siegen; who, for ſome time paſt, had been engaged in the ruſſian ſervice. Marſhal Romantzoff was there alſo. Already hurt at the

* The 18th of January.

arrogance of Potemkin *, he had, during his ſtay at Kief, additional cauſes of complaint, and his diſcontent became viſible. But, whatever value the empreſs ſet upon the brilliant ſervices of the vanquiſher of the Ottomans, the favour of Potemkin was undiminiſhed.

Fifty magnificent gallies had been diſpoſed on the Dniepr for the reception of the empreſs. Her majeſty, at the beginning of the ſpring, went to Krementſhuk, and embarked † there attended by a numerous ſuite.

The next day the fleet caſt anchor over againſt Kanief. The king of Poland, who had come thither under his old name of count Poniatofsky, repaired immediately on board the empreſs's galley. The two ſovereigns had not ſeen each other for the ſpace of three and twenty years ‡. On their firſt meeting, Catharine ſeemed rather affected: but Staniſlaus Auguſtus preſerved his entire preſence of mind, and diſcourſed with great compoſure. Soon after this they remained

* Marſhal Romantzoff was general in chief of the cavalry, and during the ſpace of 14 years there was no promotion in that corps; becauſe prince Potemkin had a diſlike to the marſhal.

† The 6th of May.

‡ It was ſaid that a private interview between them took place at Riga in 1764.

alone

alone in the apartment belonging to the empreſs, and had a private conference which laſted ſomewhat more than half an hour. After which, they went over to another galley, where they dined together. Catharine decorated her former favourite with the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew.

Prince Potemkin, who had never ſeen the poliſh monarch, ſeemed quite enchanted at now meeting him. It was perhaps to the impreſſion which it made on him, that Staniſlaus Auguſtus had to aſcribe the preſervation of his crown for ſome years longer than he otherwiſe would. However this be, he retired that evening highly ſatisfied to all appearance at the reception he had met with, and the fleet continued its courſe.

At Krementſhuk the empreſs was lodged in a houſe ſuperbly ornamented. There ſhe found an army of 12,000 men in new uniforms, who preſented before her a ſham-fight by manœuvring in four columns, with a ſquare battalion of kozaks *.

The

* It was on that occaſion that the empreſs, who was granting favours to every body, and of whom every body was preſſing to aſk them, ſaid to Suvaroff:—"And you, "general, do you want nothing?"—"Only that you

 "would

The paſſage by water was ſtill more agreeable. The ſhores of the Dniepr were covered with villages conſtructed for the occaſion, with peaſants elegantly dreſſed tending numerous flocks, who came by croſs-roads to different places on the coaſt, which the fleet was to paſs, and were thus inceſſantly re-produced before the eyes of the voyagers. The beauty of the ſeaſon even added to the magical effects of the ſpectacle preſented to the empreſs, and altogether converted this almoſt deſert region into a delightful country.

Joſeph II. * had arrived at Kerſon ſome time before the empreſs. He ſet out to meet her, and joined her majeſty at Kaïdák; where ſhe immediately ſet foot on ſhore, and proceeded by land to Kerſon, to which place the emperor returned with her.

Kerſon was already an opulent city; having a harbour full of veſſels, and dock-yards well ſupplied. A 66-gun man of war was launched in preſence of the empreſs, and a frigate of 40 guns. As her majeſty was going through the

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"would order my lodgings to be paid, madam," anſwered Súvaroff. The rent of his lodgings was two rubles a month.

* Under the title of count Falkenſtein.

ſeveral

ſeveral parts of the town, ſhe read upon a gate, on the ſide to the eaſt, a greek inſcription of this import: — "BY THIS THE WAY LEADS TO "BYZANTIUM."

There was at that time a great number of foreigners: Greeks, Tartars, French *, Spaniards, Engliſh, Poles; ſome drawn thither by curioſity, others by the deſire of paying homage to the empreſs. Prince Potemkin preſented to her Miranda †, who, being obliged to fly his native country, ſought an aſylum among the Ruſſians, and is ſince become a general in the ſervice of the French.

Among the women who had reſorted to the court of Catharine, was a grecian lady already famous ‡, whoſe charms had touched the heart of prince

* Among the French were Edward Dillon and Alexander Lameth.

† Miranda, a fugitive from the Havannah, had gone to New York and into Canada; from North America he went to Conſtantinople and to Kerſon. Being afterwards at Peterſburg, he was demanded by the chargé des affaires of Spain. But the empreſs refuſed to give him up; and when he quitted Ruſſia, ſhe recommended him to her miniſters at foreign courts.

‡ She was called madame de Witt. From his partiality for her, prince Potemkin gave the government of Kerſon to her huſband. This did not prevent madame de Witt from committing ſome infidelities to Prince Potemkin. Under

prince Potemkin, and ſeemed likely to ſnatch him away from the crowd of beauties who were contending for his favours.

Long before her departure from Peterſburg, the empreſs had ſent major Sergius to Conſtantinople, for the purpoſe of acquainting the divan that ſhe deſigned to come into the Krimea. Although he endeavoured to ſoften the communication by declaring, that ſome neceſſary internal regulations were the only objects of his ſovereign in this viſit to a part of her ſubjects, they remembered the late menace of prince Potemkin, that he would march at the head of an army of 70,000 men to the frontiers, and that the empreſs would attend in perſon to enforce her claims, and to ſettle all differences between the two empires; and this, under the circumſtances and impreſſions which we have mentioned, could not fail to increaſe their mixed indignation and alarm. The divan ſhewed ſtrong ſymptoms of uneaſineſs at it: they al-

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pretence of going to ſee her mother, who was a poor tradeſwoman at the ſeraglio, ſhe went to Conſtantinople with the counteſs de Mniſcheck. Choiſeul Gouffier gave her lodgings in the hotel de France. After the death of Potemkin, madame de Witt followed the fortune of Felix Potocky: and, at the ſollicitation of the counteſs Potocky, the empreſs cauſed her to be ſhut up in a convent.

moſt

moſt conſidered this journey as an aggreſſion. They took meaſures to repel it: and while the empreſs was at Kerſon, four turkiſh ſhips of the line came and anchored at the mouth of the Boryſthenes. Theſe ſhips were neither inclined, nor, had they been ſo, were they able to make any ſucceſsful attempt; but the very ſight of them cauſed diſturbance to Catharine. She beheld them with ſcorn, and could not turn away her eyes from them. — "Do you ſee?" ſaid ſhe to her courtiers, "one would ſuppoſe that the "Turks had no recollection of Tſcheſmé!"

Joſeph II. received at Kerſon the firſt news of the rebellion that had broke out in Brabant. Some perſons exhorted him to repair immediately to Bruſſels, and to act with great moderation, as the beſt means of appeaſing an irritated people. That Prince made no diſcovery of the meaſures he intended to purſue, nor did he take the road to his dominions. On the contrary, he followed the empreſs, who ſet out on a journey to viſit the inner parts of the Krimea.

The empreſs was received in that peninſula by the principal myrzas, whoſe troops made various evolutions in her preſence. All at once the carriages were ſurrounded by a thouſand

Tartars, forming themſelves into an eſcort. Joſeph II. who had not been appriſed of what was to happen, expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs; but the empreſs preſerved her uſual tranquillity. Theſe Tartars had been placed there by prince Potemkin. They had certainly no ſiniſter deſign; and if they had, they never would have dared to put it in execution: being well aware, that Potemkin had, not far from the place, an army of 153,000 men.

Catharine made her entry with great pomp into Bachtſchiſarai, and lodged, together with her ſuite, in the palace of the khan. In the evening ſhe was entertained with the ſpectacle of a mountain artificially illuminated, in ſuch a manner as to ſeem as if all on fire. Wherever ſhe went, every exertion was made to preſent her with ſome agreeable object; and ſhe employed every means in gaining the affections of the people. She allotted funds for building two moſques. She diſtributed conſiderable preſents among the myrzas. The myrzas teſtified the moſt ardent devotion towards her; and ſix weeks afterwards they declared in behalf of the Turks.

On her way back, the empreſs was conducted to Pultava. On her reaching that place, two

armies appeared. They approached; they engaged; and gave Catharine an exact repreſentation of the famous battle in which Charles XII. was completely routed by Peter the great.

This ſpectacle was worthy of prince Potemkin, and of the two ſovereigns to whom he gave it. Joſeph II. on whom the very name of a warrior made a lively impreſſion, could not refrain from deploring the misfortune of the ſwediſh monarch: he was nevertheleſs extremely delighted with all that was done both by Potemkin and the empreſs. He was ſo captivated by the behaviour of Catharine, that he expreſſed his inclination to aſſiſt her in cauſing her grandſon to be crowned at Conſtantinople.

Joſeph II. however, could not help teſtifying his ſurpriſe at the extraordinary complaiſance the empreſs ſhewed to Momonoff. The favourite at times would ſtrangely exhibit his influence; and his vanity ſeemed to be flattered in being able to give illuſtrious witneſſes to his puerile triumphs *.

At

* It is the cuſtom in Ruſſia, when playing at whiſt, inſtead of markers, to uſe pieces of chalk in a little caſe of ſilver or ivory, with which the amount of the game is ſcored in figures on the green cloth. Momonoff was every day of the

At Moſco Joſeph II. took leave of the empreſs; and, rapidly croſſing Poland, returned to his dominions, while that princeſs purſued the road to Peterſburg *.

The unfortunate khan, Sahim-Gueray, was not in the Krimea when the empreſs viſited that peninſula. After having diveſted him of his power, Potemkin retained him for ſome time with him at Kerſon; where that imprudent Tartar wore the uniform of general of the préobajenſkoi guards, and was decorated with the ribbon of a ruſſian order. He was afterwards ſent to Kaluga; his penſion was ſtopped, himſelf left in the moſt extreme deſtitution; and he was obliged to abandon his native country, to throw himſelf into the arms of the Turks, whom he might have regarded as his moſt mortal enemies, if the Ruſſians had not been ſo.

He firſt retired into Moldavia, where a capigi-bachi and the hoſpodar long adviſed him in vain

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the empreſs's party: and, having ſome knowledge of drawing, he ſometimes took the chalk, and amuſed himſelf with making caricatures on the table, while the ſovereign, with the cards in her hand, condeſcendingly waited till he had finiſhed his ſcrawl, to proceed in her play.

* She arrived there the latter end of July: her journey having laſted ſix months and four days.

to

to repair to Conſtantinople. Colonel de Witt *, then commander of the fortreſs of Kaminiek, and obſequiouſly devoted to prince Potemkin, united his ſollicitations with thoſe of the capigi-bachi. But Sahim-Gueray ſtill held out. He doubtleſs foreſaw the fatal lot that awaited him.

In ſhort, his perſon was ſeized, and he was tranſported to the iſle of Rhodes. There Sahim-Gueray took refuge in the houſe of the french conſul †, of whom the Turks immediately demanded his ſurrender. The conſul, thinking that they would not dare to violate his aſylum, generouſly refuſed to give up the man who had put himſelf under his protection; but they threatened to ſet fire to his houſe, and ſeizing the opportunity his momentary abſence gave them, they tore down the arms of France from over the gate, which they went and placed againſt a neighbouring houſe, and ſtrangled the unfortunate khan. As theſe aſſaſſins did not pretend to have any commiſſion or order from the porte for the perpetration of this deed, and did not appear like the uſual miniſters of juſtice, it

* The huſband of the madame de Witt before mentioned.

† The name of the conſul was Mille.

ſeems

ſeems probable that they were actuated merely by the rage of enthuſiaſm, as thinking him a neceſſary ſacrifice to the miſchiefs which he had brought upon his country and religion. Thus it was that the Turks took vengeance on this prince for his defection, and that the Ruſſians rewarded him for having ceded to them his dominions.

Some time previous to the departure of the empreſs for the Krimea, Bakunin, the miniſter of the department of foreign affairs, and at firſt in the higheſt degree of favour, received orders to travel. Bezborodko* was deſirous of placing Markoff

* The miniſters, properly ſpeaking, are the heads of the principal departments or colleges, and eſpecially thoſe of the college of foreign affairs. The chief, or the vice-chancellor, (the poſt of chancellor being vacant,) may be conſidered as prime miniſter. Count Oſtermann is a man not at all above the ordinary ſtamp, whoſe father and grandfather filled the ſame office before him: he who held it under the empreſs Anne was involved in the diſgrace of marſhal count Munich, and did not bear his reverſe of fortune with ſo much fortitude as the marſhal. The ſecond of the ſame college was M. Bezborodko, looked upon as a very laborious ſtateſman; and his rapid riſe would be almoſt incredible in any other country. Not twenty years ago he was ſecretary to Marſhal Romantzoff. His chief talent conſiſts in a through knowledge of his native language, which he writes in

Markoff at Peterſburg. Nothing farther was neceſſary for procuring the baniſhment of Bakunin. But whether he was unable to reſiſt the chagrin he experienced from loſing his place, or whether it was ſome other cauſe that accelerated the period of his life, Bakunin had not an opportunity to carry the ſecrets of the government into foreign countries: he died almoſt ſuddenly.

Markoff was then recalled from Stockholm, and put in the place of Bakunin; while Andrew Razumoffsky, whoſe talents and courage procured him the eſteem of Catharine, was tranſlated from Denmark to Sweden.

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in a pure ſtyle: a talent extremely rare among the Ruſſians, and which alone has made the fortune of numbers. The empreſs repoſed great confidence in count Bezborodko; employing him to terminate the negotiations interrupted by the death of prince Potemkin. It was at that time reported, that he intended ſhortly to retire, though ſtill in the prime of life, and capable of ſervice for many years to come. A conſiderable income, a taſte for pleaſure, and the love of independence, all together ſeemed to give room to think that he would willingly ſubmit to the efforts of a powerful cabal directed againſt him, and retire to Moſco, peaceably to enjoy his opulence: however, this retirement has not yet taken place, and the tzar Paul wiſely repoſes as much confidence in him as his mother had done before.

Markoff,

Markoff, the ſon of a ruſſian peaſant*, acting at firſt in capacity of ſecretary to prince Gallitzin, miniſter plenipotentiary at the Hague, had accompanied prince Repnin to the congreſs of Teſchen, and was afterwards ſent to Paris, where he received orders from the empreſs to go into Sweden. Being active and artful, he ſuited Bezborodko, eſpecially as there was a great ſimilarity in their purſuits of pleaſure. Accordingly, a great intimacy ſoon ſprung up between them, which the latter had afterwards ſome reaſon to repent †.

However,

* M. Markoff followed next to count Bezborodko in the ſame college. He paſſed for the moſt ſagacious of the three; which was not ſaying a great deal. However, it muſt be owned, that both his talents and attainments are of rather a ſuperior caſt; and he might have aſpired to the foremoſt places while the empreſs lived, and which he would have filled as well as any other perſon; always ſuppoſing that he were to have no other competitors than the people then about the court.

† He was removed from his poſt by the preſent emperor Paul, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne.—The miniſterial functions never prevented him from attending to the promotion of the arts: while miniſter at Stockholm, a french actreſs appeared to him worthy of ſhining on the ſtage of Peterſburg; and he conceived it not incompatible with his dignity to take charge of this modern Melpomene. Perhaps

However, prince Potemkin wiſhed, at all events, to induce the Turks to commence hoſtilities. Independently of the hope of again diſmembering the ottoman empire, he was deſirous of war from a private motive,—a motive which rendered it neceſſary to him. Though in a manner burthened with titles, honours, dignities, and croſſes of knighthood, he ſtill wiſhed to procure the grand ribbon of the order of St. George. For the obtaining of this, he muſt have the command of an army, gain a victory, and conſequently cauſe the death of a multitude of ſoldiers. But, in the ſight of the ambitious, what are the lives of ſeveral thouſands of men

haps it might have been as well to have firſt obtained the conſent of the managers of the theatre at Stockholm: but having only in view the glory of his country, and the claim he ſhould acquire on its gratitude, by procuring to the imperial reſidence of the ruſſian empire ſo enchanting a ſubject, may be admitted as an excuſe for this piece of neglect. Madame Huſs, on her part, reſolved not to be ungrateful towards the man to whom ſhe was indebted for figuring in one of the firſt theatres of the world; ſhe never quitted him, lodged at his houſe, and allowed him not to recreate himſelf, after the painful buſineſs of the miniſtry, any where but with her. Madame Huſs is certainly an incomparable actreſs, by the confeſſion of many perſons who have frequented the theatres of London, as well as that of Peterſburg.

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in compariſon of an ornament that flatters their pride!

Bulgakoff, miniſter of Ruſſia at Conſtantinople, had been at Kerſon, to inform the empreſs of his ſecret operations, and of the diſpoſitions of the divan. That miniſter had formed correſpondencies in Ægypt, by means of baron Tholus, conſul-general of Ruſſia at Alexandria. Another conſul which Ruſſia kept at Smyrna, named Peter Ferrieri, engaged in all the intrigues of which a daring Greek is capable. A third, an Engliſhman, endeavoured to raiſe inſurrections in Moldavia. The ruſſian ſhips made a licentious uſe of the numerous privileges which had been granted them by the porte; and the court of Peterſburg perpetually gave countenance to this violation of treaties.

The porte, diſcontented at this conduct, and irritated at the diſcovery of a correſpondence between Ibrahim-bey, one of the rulers of Cairo, and the ruſſian miniſter, gave orders to the capudan-paſha to go and quell the diſturbances in Ægypt. Within a few days afterwards, the grand vizir and the reis effendi demanded a conference * of the miniſter, at which they delivered to him a memorial ſuccinctly drawn

* The 26th of July.

up,

up, to which they requeſted him to give an immediate anſwer. This memorial ſtated:

"That experience having ſhewn that the "ruſſian conſul in Moldavia was a reſtleſs and "turbulent man, who employed all ſorts of "means to diſturb the peace of the two empires, "the grand ſignior inſiſted that he ſhould leave "his dominions without delay.

"That the troubles which had now for two "years been raging in Georgia, being evidently "the effect of the protection which the empreſs "had granted to prince Heraclius, againſt the "ſpirit of the treaties ſubſiſting, it was but juſt "that the ruſſian troops ſhould quit Teflis, and "retire ſo far from that kingdom, as was requi-"ſite to the reſtoration of tranquillity.

"That the ruſſian veſſels which paſſed be-"fore Conſtantinople having always prohibited "merchandize on board, his ſublime highneſs "required, that all theſe veſſels ſhould be "viſited without exception.

"That the Sublime Porte, being aſſured that "prince Alexander Mauro-Cordato *, who had "fled

* Mauro-Cordato, the hoſpodar of Moldavia, had long been, with reaſon, ſuſpected of treachery, and the porte was well informed of his carrying on a ſecret correſpondence, through the medium of the ruſſian conſul, with both the

" fled from Yaſſy at the beginning of February,
" had found an aſylum in Ruſſia, it demanded
" that this prince ſhould be abandoned.

" That the Ruſſians muſt furniſh the inhabit-
" ants of Otchakof with a greater quantity of
" ſalt than they have hitherto done.

" That, laſtly, the grand ſignior demanded a
" power to appoint, in the ruſſian dominions,
" agents to protect the commerce of his
" ſubjects."

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imperial courts of Vienna and Peterſburg. Although this conduct had hitherto been paſſed over without apparent notice, it was now thought neceſſary, upon the approaching ſeaſon of trial, not only to deprive him of the means of future miſchief, but to puniſh his paſt treachery. The porte did not act with its uſual promptneſs of deciſion upon this occaſion; for he was ſtripped of his office, without ſecuring his perſon, two days before the order arrived for his head. The wary Greek, well ſeeing his danger, profited of the neglect, and, under pretence of an airing, accompanied by a party of truſty friends, finely mounted, and all perhaps involved in it, eſcaped from Yaſſy, and arrived ſafely in the ruſſian territories. The porte reclaimed its ſubject and offending ſervant to be delivered up, according to the terms of the ſubſiſting treaties, which had fully bound both parties in all ſuch caſes. But the ruſſians not only peremptorily rejected the demand, but the removal of Cordato from his office, the deſign upon his life, and the application for his delivery, were ranked with the many other injuries charged againſt the Ottomans, and held out either as ſufficient grounds for a war, or as inſtances of the greateſt forbearance.

For

For anſwering this memorial, Bulgakoff requeſted time to conſult his court. This was readily granted; but the divan ſoon met again, and reſolved that it was needleſs to wait for the anſwer from Peterſburg. War was declared in Conſtantinople, and Bulgakoff ſhut up in the caſtle of ſeven towers *.

The manifeſto, which was upon this occaſion preſented to the miniſters of the chriſtian powers reſident at Conſtantinople, contained much of the matter which had appeared in the grand ſignior's appeal to his own ſubjects and religion; excepting only that it was held forth in a bolder and loftier tone, and abſtained from any expreſſions implying weakneſs or apprehenſion. It ſtated the good faith, and the ſtrict attention to the terms of the treaty of Kainardgi, which the grand ſultan had ſince that time uniformly obſerved; and placed in oppoſition to this conduct the continued violation of the moſt ſolemn ſtipulations, whether of more antient or modern date, which Ruſſia had committed during that period. In the enumeration of the various inſtances in which this violation had taken place, their inſtigating the prince of Georgia to rebellion, and their ſending troops to ſupport him againſt his

* The 18th of Auguſt.

ſovereign, were particularly diſplayed: as likewiſe, their depriving the inhabitants of Otchakof of the benefit of the ſalt mines, which had not only from time immemorial been open to them, but which were expreſsly ſtipulated by treaty to be held in common by both nations: their corrupting, through the agency of their conſuls, the voivode of Moldavia, and when he fled from juſtice, and was reclaimed by his ſovereign according to the ſtipulations eſtabliſhed on both ſides by treaty, their miniſter at the porte had the hardineſs peremptorily to anſwer, "that his "court would not ſurrender him:" her placing conſuls in various places where they were totally unneceſſary, with a view to corrupt the ſubjects of the porte from their duty and allegiance, exciting diſſenſions even among the true believers, ſeducing ſome to enter into her ſervice, and enticing others by civil employments to ſettle in her dominions; together with her conſtant interference in the internal policy of the empire, and preſuming to dictate to the porte; inſomuch, that when the paſhas, governors, or judges, have, by a faithful diſcharge of their duty, diſpleaſed her, ſhe has arrogantly demanded their removal or puniſhment.

The complaints on the ſubject of commerce were not leſs numerous. Upon the whole, the

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ſum of injury and inſult of which the porte complained, appeared from this piece to have been great indeed, although the particulars are by no means ſtated to advantage.

The internuncio * of the court of Vienna, and the ambaſſador of France †, united their efforts with the divan to obtain the releaſe of Bulgakoff. All their endeavours were fruitleſs. The miniſter of Great Britain had at that time more influence than they, and entered warmly into the reſentment of his court, which had beheld with a jealous eye the empire of Ruſſia forming a treaty of commerce with France.

The Turks began to make preparations for war with the greateſt alacrity. They ordered 80,000 men to march to cover Otchakof. Diſpatches were forwarded to every part of the empire to prepare for war. A formidable army advanced to the ſhores of the Danube; and the grand vizir was in readineſs to unfurl the ſtandard of Mohammed at the head of the ottoman troops.

The people had been outrageous with government for its ſupineneſs, in ſuffering the empreſs to proſecute her journey to Kerſon; indeed all Europe was ſurpriſed at the forbearance of the

* Baron von Herbert. † M. de Choiſeul-Gouffier.

porte, if war was determined, in not obſtructing that boaſted and inſulting progreſs, or, in fact, vain-glorious triumph.

The ſultan, in order to increaſe the opinion and reverence of the people for his miniſter, and the confidence of the army in his abilities, as well as to enable him to provide inſtantly for any ſudden exigencies that might occur, and to conduct the various operations of the war with greater diſpatch and effect, entruſted the grand vizir with ſuch dictatorial powers as no jealous potentate would have ventured in any hands but his own. Theſe were committed to him in full divan, and authenticated by a written decree paſſed in all the forms of ſtate, after which the decree was proclaimed, and read aloud in the moſt public places, commanding all the ſubjects of the empire, of whatever rank or condition, to obey the grand vizir implicitly in all things, as they would the emperor himſelf. This demonſtration of confidence in the miniſter was every where received by the people with the ſtrongeſt marks of approbation and joy. Upon the ſame principle, and as an invigorating encouragement to his zeal and exertion, the ſultan ſent that commander a gold-hilted ſabre highly enriched with diamonds; this magnificent preſent being accompanied by a ſet of inſtructions

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in his own hand, for his government in the conduct of the war. In this ſenſible well-conſtructed piece, the emperor ſtrongly exhorts his miniſter and general, conſtantly to maintain a cloſe union and intimate correſpondence with the different paſhas and governors, as well as with the commanders in actual ſervice; and to uſe all poſſible means for diminiſhing the enormous quantity of baggage, and the inordinate number of domeſtics, which ſo fatally impede the motion of the troops, and clog the operations of the turkiſh armies.

The return of the capudan-paſha from the Archipelago in the beginning of December, diffuſed great joy at Conſtantinople, and reſtored the ſpirits of the people, which began to flag through the late diſappointments. Nor was his arrival a matter of leſs ſatisfaction to the grand vizir, nor to the emperor himſelf, who is ſaid literally to have received him with open arms. The war had been declared in his abſence, and, as he had before given his opinion of its being premature and dangerous at the preſent time, while the union ſubſiſted ſo cloſely between the two chriſtian empires, it was a matter of apprehenſion whether he would engage heartily in the ſupport of a meaſure of which he had not approved. The veteran, however, ſoon put an end to all doubts upon the ſubject, by gallantly

making, in a truly martial ſpeech to the emperor, an unreſerved tender of his utmoſt ſervices in endeavouring to reſtore the tarniſhed honour of the ottoman arms. He declared, that though grown grey in the ſervice of his country, he ſtill felt himſelf ſtrong and vigorous, and that there was nothing upon earth he wiſhed for ſo paſſionately, as to cloſe his life with the glorious act of driving the perfidious infidels out of their fraudulent uſurpations in the Krimea and on the Euxine, of replacing the ruined nations of Tartars and other muſſulmans in their antient poſſeſſions, and of reſtoring the khan to the ſeat of his illuſtrious anceſtors, of which, in contempt of all laws, human and divine, he had been ſo cruelly deſpoiled.

Nothing could exceed the pleaſure which this ſpeech afforded, nor the confidence and admiration of the man which is excited in the grand ſignior; as the firſt demonſtration of which, he immediately appointed him grand admiral of the fleet, and generaliſſimo of all the armies to be employed on the Euxine.

A ſquadron of ſixteen ſhips of the line, eight frigates, and ſeveral gallies, entered the Euxine under the command of the capudan-paſha.

The old admiral was juſt then returned from Ægypt, where he had ſubdued the rebellious beys

beys Ibrahim and Amurath, and collected a tribute of more than twelve millions of piaſtres. But he was ſtill humble under all this ſucceſs. He even now recollected with grief the diſaſters of Tſcheſmè; and previous to his departure for the Krimea, he called together the principal officers of his fleet, and made them the following ſpeech:

"You know whence I am come, and what "I have atchieved. A new field of honour "invites me, as well as you, to devote the laſt "ſigh to the honour of our faith, to the ſervice "of the ſultan and the invincible nation, who, "in the preſent ſituation of affairs, demand the "laſt drop of our blood.—It is in order to fulfil "this ſacred duty, that I now part from thoſe "of my family that are deareſt to me. I have "granted liberty to all my ſlaves of both ſexes; "I have paid them all that I owed them; and I "have rewarded them according to their deſerts. "I have bid my laſt adieus to my wife; and I "am going in queſt of battles, in the firm reſo- "lution either to conquer or to die. If ever I "return, it will be by the ſignal favour of "heaven. If I am deſirous that my days "ſhould be prolonged, it is only that they may "be terminated with glory. Such is my im- "moveable reſolution.

"You,

" You, who have ever been my faithful " companions, I have called you together to " exhort you to follow my example in this " deciſive conjuncture. If there be any one of " you who feels not the courage to be willing to " die in the glorious conflict, let him declare it " freely. He ſhall find favour before me, " and ſhall immediately receive his diſmiſſion. " Thoſe, on the other hand, who ſhall be " wanting in courage to execute my orders in " battle, muſt not pretend to find an excuſe in " contrary winds and the diſobedience of their " crews; for I ſwear by Mohammed and by the " life of the ſultan, that I will have their heads " cut off, and the heads of their crews. But he " who ſhall diſplay courage, and perform his " duty, ſhall be liberally rewarded. Let all " thoſe who are willing to follow me on theſe " conditions, riſe up then, and ſwear to obey " me faithfully."

At theſe words all the commanders having riſen, ſwore to conquer or to die with their grand admiral. " Yes," exclaimed he, " I acknow- " ledge you all as my brave and faithful com- " panions! Go, return to your ſhips. Call your " crews upon deck. Communicate to them " my ſpeech; receive their oath, and keep in " readineſs for ſailing to-morrow."

The

The Turks, ſuſpecting the fidelity of the Greeks, diſarmed them all: at the ſame time publiſhing a manifeſto to invite the Tartars to return to their allegiance to the grand ſignior. That race regretted the loſs of their former maſters, and deteſted their new ones. In vain did the empreſs load them with preſents; in vain had ſhe cauſed the koran to be printed *, and moſques to be built; they ſaw in her only the chriſtian, and in their heart preferred to her a muſſulman prince. The myrzas then met and elected for their khan Sha Par-Gueray, who ſoon beheld under his orders an army of 40,000 men.

At Peterſburg the news of the war was received with tranſports of joy. It had long been foreſeen by the empreſs; and ſhe expected it with impatience. All her preparations were made. She had already a great force in the Kuban; and detachments of her armies were on their march to the Krim. The whole face of the country, from Kaminiek to Balta, was covered with her troops. Prince Potemkin, commander in chief of all theſe forces, had under his orders Suvaroff, Repnin, Kamenſkoï,

* The empreſs had the koran or kour'ann printed at Peterſburg for the uſe of the inhabitants of Taurida.

Kakoffsky,

Kakoſſky, and a number of other generals. Marſhal Romantzoff, unwilling to be an inſtrument to the glory of Potemkin, excuſed himſelf on account of his great age, and refuſed the command, of which ſome remains of a forced reſpect had procured him the offer. His ſon went, and joined the army.

A fleet of eight ſhips of the line, twelve frigates, and near 200 chebeks or gun-boats, was equipped in the Euxine; and two ſtrong ſquadrons under the command of admiral Kruſe and admiral Greig, were in readineſs at Cronſtadt to ſail for the Mediterranean.

By the alliance of Joſeph II. the empreſs was ſecure of another powerful ſupport, as that prince was no leſs deſirous than herſelf of a war with the Turks. Eighty thouſand Auſtrians were on their march to Moldavia: in a word, all ſeemed to announce the approaching overthrow of the ottoman empire.

Catharine, in the mean time, diſſembling both her ſentiments and her deſigns, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which ſhe reproached the Turks with the infraction of the treaties which had been violated only by herſelf. It was long, and conceived in a lofty ſpirit, ſuch as might ſeem, in the eyes of an impartial judge, more calculated to celebrate the triumphs and conqueſts of the laſt war, to diſplay the fallen ſtate of the porte, lying

at

at the mercy of her conquering armies, together with the clemency and generoſity with which ſhe reſtored her numerous conqueſts by the treaty of Kainardgi, than to juſtify, or to impreſs the public with ideas of the equity of her conduct and proceedings during the peace. The Turks are, however, charged with the blackeſt perfidy in every tranſaction. Theſe charges are ſupported and enforced throughout with abundant imputations of falſehood, treachery, contempt of the moſt ſolemn engagements, and a diſregard to the ſanctity of oaths, which are all charged upon the Ottomans, as if vices inherent in their nature: and, after a long enumeration of the pretended wrongs committed by the porte, ſhe added:

"That, provoked by ſo offenſive a conduct, "ſhe had, much againſt her will, been obliged "to have recourſe to arms, as the only means "left her for aſſerting the rights which ſhe had "acquired at the price of ſo much blood, and "to avenge the dignity of her crown, injured by "the violence that had been uſed towards her "miniſter at Conſtantinople; that, perfectly "innocent of all the calamities inevitably en-"gendered by war, ſhe had a right to rely, not "only on the providence of God and the aſſiſt-"ance of her allies, but on the devout aſpira-"tions of the chriſtian world, for the triumph

"of

"of a cauſe ſo juſt as that which ſhe was forced "to maintain."

This manifeſto was ſoon followed by a ſecond, which declared:—"That the porte had had the "arrogance to inſiſt on a categorical anſwer to "its abſurd demands; and that the empreſs, "forced to repel the aggreſſion of the enemy of "the chriſtian name, armed herſelf with confi- "dence under the protection of that righteous "God who had ſo long and ſo powerfully pro- "tected the ruſſian empire."

In ſupport of theſe memorials by which Catharine was moving heaven and earth againſt the Ottomans, means were employed ſtill more adapted to the ſuperſtition of the Ruſſians; papers were diſperſed emphatically publiſhing the prophecies of the patriarchs Jeremiah and Nicon *, predicting the ſpeedy ruin of Conſtantinople. This was at the ſame time an indirect manner of combating the formidable prophet the ſheik Manſour, who again made his appearance, and, affirming that an angel had appeared to him in the midſt of a wood, had been able to collect an army, and to raiſe againſt the Ruſſians all the hordes of mount Caucaſus.

* Nicon, raiſed to the patriarchal dignity in 1652, changed the antient liturgy of the greek church.

It might have been ſuppoſed that the former demonſtration of the inefficacy of his aſſumed ſupernatural powers and céleſtial aids, when oppoſed to ruſſian arms and diſcipline, had left behind ſuch ſore remembrancers of the failure and impoſition, as could not but effectually cure the enthuſiaſm of his followers: but the ſheik, in whatever other qualities he might be deficient, poſſeſſed a large natural ſtock of courage, and it is poſſible that the people conſidered his valour more than his piety, in chooſing him their leader.

However this might be, the ſheik being ſupported by ſome ſmall neighbouring tribes of Tartars, and by ſuch Turks as were ſcattered amongſt them, he entered the ruſſians new frontiers at the head of about 8000 men, without ſeeming, from any thing that appears, to conſider, or to make much inquiry, what force he had to encounter. It is however to be remembered, that in regions where the race of man are ſo thinly ſcattered as in the preſent ſcene of action, the difficulty of intelligence muſt neceſſarily be great: it is likewiſe to be obſerved, that although the boundleſs waſtes of theſe flat countries, which ſcarcely have any other marks of diviſion than a few great rivers, renders them exceedingly favourable to predatory excurſion,

yet

yet the ſame properties expoſe the invader to a continual danger, againſt which no foreſight can at all times provide, that of being ſuddenly ſurprized by a ſuperior, and ſuppoſed diſtant enemy.

Prince Potemkin was in perſon at the head of the ruſſian army, which he immediately divided into four columns, one of which led by himſelf, as well as the others, but all purſuing different routs, advanced expeditiouſly upon the enemy. If it were poſſible to draw any ſcheme of deſign from thoſe military details which were occaſionally publiſhed by the court of Peterſburg, or to reaſon upon them, it would be ſuppoſed that the object of this diviſion and march of the army was to encloſe the enemy on all ſides, ſo that not a man could eſcape. Yet this was not done, nor, from what was ſeen attempted, although the paſſage of two or three rivers ſeem the only obſtacles which the troops had to encounter on their march. Rebinder's column, however, came ſingly in ſight of the enemy *. They found the ſheik himſelf, with about 600 Tartars, ſeparated from the reſt, and entrenched behind their waggons. Theſe, upon the approach of the Ruſſians, repeated aloud a ſhort prayer dictated

* The 1ſt of October.

but

by their prophet, which, with the deſperate courage they diſplayed in defence of their entrenchments, ſeemed to indicate that the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm was not yet extinct. It was, however, impoſſible that their courage could be of any avail; the trenches were carried: and we may judge of the defence, when, out of ſo ſmall a number, 400 were left dead upon the ſpot.

The ſheik was ſo far from ſinking under this misfortune, that, having collected all the troops within reach during the night, he boldly returned to the charge next day, and, without regard to their artillery, had the hardineſs to attack the ruſſian camp. This mode was not likely to be ſucceſsful, with ſuch troops as he commanded, and ſuch arms as they poſſeſſed. They were accordingly repulſed; the carabineers of Roſten, the dragoons of Aſtrakhan, and a battalion of grenadiers, carrying off the chief honours of the day. It ſeemed rather ſingular in this encounter, that the Tartars ſhould have hoped, by a feigned flight, to draw an enemy, ſo far their ſuperior in the art of war, into an ambuſcade. It is certainly a curious, though by no means a pleaſing ſpectacle, to behold the vigorous, though ineffectual ſtruggles of brave men, againſt a vaſt ſuperiority of power, arms, and diſcipline.

Nor was the conteſt yet ended; and it ſeemed as if courage would riſe ſuperior to diſaſter, or periſh in the attempt. The Tartars being reinforced, a third action took place, in which major general prince Radiſcheff, at the head probably of another column, gained a complete victory. After this ſucceſs, the ſheik's habitation, and all the Tartar villages within reach, were plundered, and deſtroyed by fire. Ten thouſand pints of butter, and a large quantity of barley, were the rural ſpoil made upon this occaſion: the cattle had probably been driven to a ſafe diſtance; and money, valuable furniture, or merchandize, were articles not to be looked for in theſe regions. Such was the iſſue of the ſheik Manſour's ſecond adventure in war.

The Leſghis were likewiſe ſaid to have received a great defeat from the Ruſſians, about this time, ſomewhere on the ſide of Georgia.

Some enterprizes which were undertaken by the Turks againſt the iſland of Taman, and the Krimea, were attended with as little ſucceſs as the attempts of the Tartars.

Next to the defeat or deſtruction of the ruſſian fleet, no object, on that ſide, could be ſo intereſting to the Porte as the recovery of Kinburne. For this fortreſs being ſituated directly oppoſite

to

to Otchakof, from which it is ſeparated only by the mouth of the Dniepr, where, united with the waters of the Bogue, it falls into the Euxine, this vicinity not only expoſed the latter continually to the danger of a ſurpriſe, but being likewiſe a ſtation for the ruſſian fleets, as well as a great naval and military arſenal, it was at all times pregnant with the means of war on both elements.

Through ſome fatality, probably the want of a due ſubordination being eſtabliſhed among the commanders, ſuch diſſenſions broke out in this fleet, as ſerved totally to overthrow every deſign of the expedition. From whatever it proceeded, nothing could have been more unfortunate at the opening of a war, nor more ruinous than it proved in its ſubſequent conſequences. Haſſan-bey, after ſpending a few days fruitleſsly at Otchakof, returned without making any attempt upon Kinburne, and, ſo far as appeared, without any endeavour to fall in with the ruſſian fleet on his return. Nothing could exceed the rage and clamour of the people, nor the diſappointment and indignation of the porte, upon his bringing the news of his own misfortune and diſgrace to Conſtantinople. The unfortunate vice-admiral who commanded the expedition, was probably deemed a neceſſary victim to the firſt, and perhaps a

neceſſary example of rigour at the commencemen of a war. Thus, through the weak and cruel maxims of the turkiſh policy, was an excellent officer loſt to the ſtate, at a time when his ſervices were likely to be more wanted than at any former period of its exiſtence; whereas, a proper inquiry into the cauſes of the miſcarriage, with a moderate reproof, if any was due, to the commander, might have ſtimulated him to the nobleſt actions.

In the mean time, the brave garriſon of Otchakof, notwithſtanding their being deſerted by the fleet and army, were inceſſant in their endeavours, and ſhewed an extraordinary, but ill-judged and miſapplied degree of enterprize and valour, in their efforts to recover Kinburne; either by ſurpriſe, which could ſcarcely be expected to ſucceed, or by mere force of hand, which was ſtill more impracticable. They were accordingly repulſed with loſs in the two firſt attempts, but the third proved fatal. The garriſon of Kinburne had been conſiderably reinforced, when 5000 Turks, poſſibly ignorant of the circumſtance, having croſſed the river from Otchakof, made a fierce attack on the fortreſs before day. The garriſon had been too lately alarmed to be now ſurpriſed, and maintained their poſts well while the darkneſs continued; but

but as ſoon as day-light appeared, they quitted the defenſive, and ſallying from different gates nearly incloſed the enemy, whom they attacked with great courage on at leaſt three ſides. A deſperate action enſued, in which the Turks, being undoubtedly diſmayed at the unuſual danger and hopeleſſneſs of their ſituation, were routed: after which the fight was changed to an abſolute ſlaughter; for, what with the grounding and other caſualties, in ſuch a hurry, which befel many of the boats; what with the eager purſuit of the enemy, and, above all, the general blindneſs and confuſion which terror produced, not above a thouſand of the whole party are ſaid to have eſcaped. A ſlaughter ſo vaſt, and ſo totally diſproportioned to the number engaged, ſeems indeed rather difficult of belief; but the ſituation and circumſtances of the aſſailants were unuſually perilous. The circumſtance of the two ruſſian generals, Beck and Suvaroff, being ſeverely wounded, ſeems to indicate that this action was not entirely bloodleſs to the victors. Te deum was now ſung with the higheſt pomp in all the churches at Peterſburg upon this occaſion, and the public rejoicings were ſuch as might have been expected for the greateſt victory.

The empreſs earneſtly ſollicited the ambaſſador of France to engage his court to join her for the

diſmemberment of the ottoman empire. In return for this ſervice, ſhe offered to cede to France the poſſeſſion of Egypt*, of the conqueſt of which ſhe thought herſelf ſecure †. But the

* Great quantities of ſugar of an exceedingly good grain are produced in Ægypt; and if that country were under a better government, it might ſupply Europe to a very large amount. In Candia too and in Sicily the cane thrives well; where nothing is wanting but more induſtry in the inhabitants and ſome enterpriſing people of capital, for rendering this product an article of vaſt importance. This obſervation likewiſe may be applied to a large extent of the coaſt of Barbary. Ægypt abounds in coffee-trees, and produces excellent hemp and flax. The French might willingly abandon their Weſt-India iſlands, were they once poſſeſſed of Ægypt.

Terra ſuis contenta bonis; non indiga mercis
Aut jovis: in ſolo tanta eſt fiducia Nilo.

† The chief force of Ægypt conſiſts in about 8000 horſe; for the janiſſaries are by no means to be reckoned as ſoldiers. The Pharos of Alexandria, which, according to the regulations, ought to be garriſoned by 500 janiſſaries, has never half that number, and not more than four cannons for its defence. The whole of the fortifications might eaſily be beat down by a ſingle frigate; and the greateſt difficulty a foreign army would have to encounter in maintaining poſſeſſion of Alexandria, would be the want of water; that city having none but what is conducted by canals into their reſervoirs at the time of the overflowing of the Nile; it would therefore be neceſſary to conquer the whole country, at leaſt as far as the banks of that river. The revenues of the beys are raiſed by a land-tax and the produce of the cuſtoms, amounting together to near two millions ſterling, of which but a ſmall proportion reaches the coffers of the porte.

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ambaſſador was averſe from truſting to the ſpecious bait. He knew that if Turkey was to be partitioned, Ægypt would be leſs deſirable to the French than the iſle of Candia. He knew, that though it would be advantageous for France to have a treaty of commerce with the Ruſſians, it was greatly more to her intereſt to prevent the demolition of the Turks, with whom ſhe was engaged in a more ſafe, more lucrative, and more convenient commerce. In ſhort, he knew that the inefficient government of Conſtantinople could never, like that of Peterſburg, threaten to diſarrange the equilibrium of Europe. Beſides, what right had Catharine to reckon on the ſubmiſſion of Ægypt? Her conſul-general Tholus, it is true, maintained ſeveral correſpondencies there; he had ſecured the beys Ibrahim and Amurath in his intereſt; but the temptations which he threw out to another bey, named Iſmaël, were not attended with the ſame ſucceſs. Iſmaël cauſed him to be arreſted, and ſent him to the paſha of Cairo, who detained him priſoner *.

A circum-

* The ambaſſador added; that the French had it always in their power either to ſeize on Ægypt, or to make ſuch an alliance with the beys as would open to them a communication with India; that the beys would eagerly embrace

A circumſtance which happened ſoon after the opening of the war, though in itſelf of little conſequence, occaſioned great joy at Conſtantinople, from its being conſidered as an indication of future ſucceſs, and that fortune had again begun to look favourably upon the creſcent: — the ruſſian fleet having, in the month of September, been ſcattered and greatly injured by a violent tempeſt on the Euxine, and having no port on the aſiatic ſide to afford them ſhelter, the Boriſthenes, of 64 guns, being nearly diſmaſted, and otherwiſe in great diſtreſs, was driven by night into the canal of Conſtantinople; having paſſed ſo many of the forts in the dark, that her eſcape, when ſhe diſcovered her ſituation, would have been impoſſible, had ſhe even been in better condition for making the attempt. It may well be ſuppoſed that nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment of the people, when daylight diſcloſed to them ſo novel a ſight, and one

any offer that promiſed to ſecure them a perfect independence on the ottoman porte, nay would even become tributary to any other ſtate, who would maintain them in their ſeparate governments, protecting each of them againſt the others, and the entire country from the oppreſſions and reſentment of the Turks.

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ſo well calculated to excite a popular and enthuſiaſtic joy. They were, however, probably equalled on the other ſide, by the grief and diſmay of the ruſſian captain; who, perceiving himſelf inextricably involved, adopted the deſperate reſolution of blowing up the ſhip in the face of the city and harbour: but the crew, preferring the ſmaller evil of impriſonment, inſtantly ſeized his perſon, and held him in durance until they were boarded by the turkiſh boats. About 650 Ruſſians were made priſoners. The ſhip had been ſo exceeding ſickly as to loſe 150 men in that ſhort cruiſe.

In her endeavours to incite the chriſtian princes to arm againſt the Turks, Catharine ſurely never ſuppoſed that they would ſecond her in all her ambitious ſchemes, or that they would remain at leaſt calm ſpectators of her triumphs. She was not ignorant that England was inſtigating the porte to go to war, and was ſending it ſupplies: and that Pruſſia would not patiently ſuffer either the aggrandiſement of Ruſſia or of the houſe of Auſtria. But what the empreſs did not foreſee, was the reſolution of Guſtavus III. to declare war againſt her immediately.

1788. It was during the progreſs of theſe hoſtilities with the porte, that Ruſſia thus found herſelf ſuddenly involved in a new and unexpected

pected war; the poſſibility and conſequences of which were certainly not taken into account, in her original calculations of conqueſt and ſchemes of aggrandiſement. For though the world, as well as themſelves had long known the diſtaſte which prevailed between the courts of Peterſburg and Stockholm, and ſaw that public jealouſies were by degrees ripened into perſonal diſlike, and even an apparently fixed animoſity between the ſovereigns; yet nobody imagined, or indeed believed, that, conſidering the prodigious diſproportion of their power, Sweden could have ventured upon entering into a direct war with Ruſſia.

The king of Sweden had ſpirit, perhaps it may hereafter be conſidered as ſagacity and wiſdom, to ſee things in a different point of view. He might have been taught (if all more remote hiſtory had been extinct) from the numerous examples afforded by his uncle, the hero and founder of the pruſſian empire, how to diſtinguiſh between great difficulties and abſolute impoſſibilities; he might likewiſe have learnt, from the ſame ſchool of knowledge and experience, that there are certain critical ſituations, when it becomes wiſdom, and is conſonant to the ſtricteſt laws of calculation, to commit every thing to the hazard of a ſingle great exertion, rather

rather than to wait for that irretrievable ſtate of things, when it would be impoſſible for any exertion to produce a ſingle favourable caſt.

As a nation, Sweden had the greateſt cauſes of reſentment againſt Ruſſia for paſt injury and loſs, at the ſame time that ſhe had every thing to dread from her preſent overgrown power and boundleſs ambition, which was as little qualified in the wanton diſplay, as it was ungoverned in the actual exertion. It was impoſſible to behold the rich province of Livonia, with the adjoining valuable ones of Eſthonia, Ingria, and Carelia, beſides a great part of Finland, in the hands of ſtrangers and enemies, without the deepeſt regret; or could a ſwediſh patriot behold, without a degree of indignation equal to the regret, his countrymen periſhing all round him for want of bread, while the firſt of theſe provinces could moſt abundantly have ſupplied their wants? Theſe loſſes were embittered by the recollection of particular injuries and extraordinary cruelties. The ſavage war carried on by Peter the firſt (it may be ſaid againſt human nature) in the bowels and loweſt caverns of the earth, for the deſtruction of the ſwediſh copper and iron works, and rendering the ruin irretrievable, by breaking down the mounds that prevented the water from overflowing the mines, was, ſo far as human power

power and malice could apply, entailing miſery and want through all generations upon a people, whoſe harveſts and means of life were produced in thoſe dark regions.

Yet, in defiance of theſe, ſeemingly incurable, national animoſities, Ruſſia had conſtantly found means to maintain a ſtrong and numerous party in Sweden, who were ever ready to ſacrifice the intereſts of their country to her ſelfiſh and dangerous views. This ſhe accompliſhed by various means, by the common effect of power, in dazzling and ſubduing the weak and the timid; by her money, which could not fail to operate with great effect upon a very numerous, poor, and factious nobility; to this head may be referred the facility with which her vaſt military eſtabliſhments enabled her to provide for all thoſe, and even for their relations and friends, whoſe zeal for her ſervice rendered them obnoxious to their country. The vicinity of Ruſſia, too, with that overteaching affectation of friendſhip and good neighbourhood, under the covert of which ſhe endeavoured to become a party in the affairs of all her neighbours, together with the common ties of language, religion, blood, and various other connections, ſubſiſting between the ſubjugated ſwediſh provinces, and thoſe ſtill retained by that crown, afforded her continual opportunities

nities of being minutely acquainted with the moſt ſecret affairs of that country, of knowing the exact ſtate, views, and value of parties, and of knowing all thoſe men who were the fitteſt for the purpoſe, and the moſt liable to be practiſed on, in order to make them proſelytes to her views.

The great revolution in the government of Sweden, effected by the preſent king, tended greatly to leſſen this ſiniſter influence; but the evil was too deeply fixed to be ſoon eradicated, and the bold intriguing diſpoſition of the ruſſian miniſters at Stockholm, who, preſuming too much on the greatneſs of the power by which they were ſupported, diſdained to ſubmit to thoſe nice regulations, which the wiſdom of ages and nations have eſtabliſhed as laws to govern the conduct of the diplomatic body during their miſſion in foreign courts. By this means a ſtrong foreign faction, though ſeemingly cemented by conſtitutional principles, and looking only to domeſtic regulation and concerns, was conſtantly nurſed and ſupported in the kingdom, who, directly inimical to the king, and to the new form of government, were no leſs ſo in effect, whether intentionally or not, to the real intereſts and ſecurity of their country.

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That ſudden and unforeſeen revolution in the government of Sweden, was the ſource of all the coolneſs, jealouſy, and diſlike, which had ſince taken place between the courts of Peterſburg and Stockholm. Nothing could be more directly contrary to the views of Ruſſia, or ſubverſive of the policy which ſhe had purſued during the greater part of the preſent century, than that Sweden ſhould ever again recover her former rank among nations, or any part of that weight and influence which ſhe once held in the political ſcale of Europe. A nominal king without power or effect, with a nation conſtantly rent and diſtracted by jarring factions, any of which ſhe might occaſionally ſupport againſt the others, as beſt ſuited her immediate purpoſes, would, in proceſs of time, afford her ſuch continual opportunities for interference and regulation, and ſuch frequent pretences for ſending armies into the country to ſupport her deciſions, that all the ſubſtantial benefits of conqueſt would thus be obtained, without the odium and jealouſy ever inſeparable from that term. Nor might it be entirely overlooked, that dependent kings, as well as dependent princes, would be neceſſary appendages to the ſplendor, as well as gratifications to the vanity of an imperial court.

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The revolution deſtroyed all ſchemes of this nature, however fondly entertained. It is now well known, that nothing leſs than the various calamities, occaſioned by a long foreign war, a dangerous rebellion at home, and the cruel ravages of the peſtilence, all of which about that time afflicted Ruſſia, could have prevented her from taking a direct and deciſive part in overthrowing, as ſhe had not time to prevent, the ſyſtem of government then eſtabliſhed by the king of Sweden. It was, however, ſtill perhaps expected, that a young prince like Guſtavus, feeling himſelf yet weak, and not fully aſſured in his new acceſſion of power, would have gladly applied to his great, wiſe, and powerful neighbour, for her approbation and confirmation of it.

Every body, however, expected, that the viſit which the king not long after paid to the court of Peterſburg, would have amply atoned for this inattention or neglect, which might well be imputed to the giddy effect, that a ſudden acceſſion of power is ever liable to produce on a youthful and inexperienced mind. The king, however, ſuddenly departed from the court of Peterſburg, it was ſaid, without taking leave, while the expedition which he uſed in returning to his own dominions carried almoſt the appearance of precipitation; and from that period,

the breach between the two courts, inſtead of cloſing, had been continually growing wider.

It is ſtated, in a pamphlet ſaid to have been written by himſelf on the ſituation of public affairs, that the king of Sweden had early endeavoured to avert the impending ſtorm, by offering his mediation to reconcile the differences between Ruſſia and the porte; an office he was peculiarly qualified to ſucceed in, from the long eſtabliſhed friendſhip ſubſiſting between Turkey and Sweden. The contemptuous ſcorn with which the propoſal was received, and the diſdainful manner in which it was rejected, ſeem to have been ſenſibly felt by the royal writer. A ſimilar propoſal made by Great Britain, ſupported by Pruſſia, was ſcarcely better received. To this pertinacious adherence to her ambitious deſigns, the king directly attributes the ſubſequent meaſures, which, he ſays, he was under a neceſſity of adopting on the principle of defence.

Since count Oſtermann had quitted Stockholm, his ſucceſſors * had faithfully imitated his conduct. But no one had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his boldneſs as count Andrew Razumoffsky.

* Mouſchin-Pouſkin, and afterwards Markoff.

moffsky *. Jealous of regaining the favour of his ſovereign, that wiley miniſter was perpetually working to ſow diſſenſions among the ſwediſh nobles, of whom the far greater part were diſcontented with their king, and were but too much inclined to liſten to the inſidious advice of the Ruſſian.

Guſtavus reſolved to take his revenge. Before the Turks had declared war againſt Ruſſia, Heideſtam, his miniſter at Conſtantinople, had already received orders to conclude a treaty of alliance with them. The Turks recollected with reverence the victories of Charles XII. They thought that a king of Sweden might make a powerful diverſion in their favour. They promiſed Guſtavus to grant him conſiderable ſubſi-

* Count Razumoffsky, the ruſſian miniſter at Stockholm, was deeply initiated in all the intrigues, deſigns, and political myſteries of his court; at the ſame time that he derived from nature and habit no ſmall portion of that haughty and overbearing ſpirit, which marked her conduct in all tranſactions with her weaker neighbours. He is charged with even exceeding his predeceſſors, in the contempt with which he trampled upon the general laws of nations, with reſpect to the conduct preſcribed to public miniſters in their miſſion at foreign courts; with paying no regard even to outward appearances; and with carrying on his intrigues of ſeduction and corruption, in forming factions againſt the ſtate, openly, and too ſucceſsfully, in the capital, and under the eye of the ſovereign at whoſe court he reſided.

dies, which in part were paid him on the ſpot. Beſides, Pruſſia lent him money, and England promiſed him the aſſiſtance of a fleet. That prince therefore began to arm.

Being a witneſs to the preparations that were going forward at Stockholm, count Andrew Razumoffsky haughtily aſked to what end they were making. Guſtavus, with ſtill greater haughtineſs replied, that he was not accountable for his actions to any foreign power. It was ſomewhat extraordinary to ſee an ambaſſador diſputing in the capital of Sweden the prerogatives of the ſwediſh monarch, and pretending to ſet bounds to his power. Guſtavus, juſtly exaſperated at this inſtance of preſumption, ordered Razumoffsky to depart from Stockholm. But the Ruſſian found means, under various pretexts, to defer his departure for a conſiderable time.

Notwithſtanding all this, the preparations for war went on with the uſual ardour. The fleet was equipping at Carleſcrona; the troops to be embarked were gathering round the capital; others were on their march to Finland. It was artfully propagated that it was neceſſary to put the kingdom on its defence, as the court of Peterſburg had threatened Sweden with an attack, unleſs Guſtavus would conſent to furniſh her with ſuccours againſt the Turks. The ſwediſh ſoldiers

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burnt with deſire to meaſure ſwords with a nation which their anceſtors had ſo frequently vanquiſhed. In a word, they were embarked, and the fleet which had them on board arrived in Finland, whither Guſtavus was gone before.

The troops had ſcarcely ſet foot on the frontiers, than a ſmall detachment of ruſſian chaſſeurs made a feint to diſlodge a body of Swedes who defended a bridge. Some fire-arms * were even diſcharged on both ſides, which Guſtavus readily took for a ſignal of war. His orders were already given, and his ſquadron captured two ruſſian frigates that were cruiſing off Sveaborg, for the purpoſe of exerciſing the marine cadets of Peterſburg.

Guſtavus reſolved to march againſt Frederikſham; but, as they had not yet been able to get the heavy artillery on ſhore from on board the ſquadron of Carleſcrona, he now conceived the deſign of attacking the town on two different ſides at once, and take it by aſſault.

* By the ſwediſh conſtitution, the king cannot attack a foreign power, without the conſent of the diet. — The Ruſſians pretend, that Guſtavus III. had diſguiſed the boors of Finland as ruſſian ſoldiers, and conſequently cauſed his own ſubjects to be killed, in order to have a pretence for entering the ruſſian territory.

Terror and amazement took poſſeſſion of every breaſt at Peterſburg. All the ruſſian ſoldiery had been ſent off againſt the Turks.

At the firſt moment of alarm the empreſs had no more than ſome invalids and a few detachments of her guards to ſend to the relief of Frederikſham. No doubt was entertained that Guſtavus would get poſſeſſion of that place, and proceed to lay ſiege to the reſidence. Catharine was extremely uneaſy, but always preſerved the appearance of perfect tranquillity. The french ambaſſador juſt at that time entering the palace, her majeſty aſked him, what news were talked of? —"That you are going to ſet out for Moſco, "madam," returned he.—"You did not be-"lieve it:" ſhe immediately anſwered. "I "have given orders for a great number of "poſt-horſes to be kept in readineſs; but it is "for the purpoſe of bringing ſoldiers and can-"nons."

She did really bring together the few troops that were diſperſed among the leſs diſtant garriſons, and ſent them into Finland to join the detachments that were already there. The command of this incomplete army was given to Mouſchin-Pouſkin, an inexperienced general, whoſe reputation for military conduct was not calculated

calculated to ſtill the apprehenſions of the people of Peterſburg.

The empreſs haſtily publiſhed a declaration, in which, complaining of the behaviour of the king of Sweden, and of the neceſſity to which he had reduced her of arming againſt him, ſhe artfully diſſembled the weakneſs of her troops in Finland, and ſaid, on the contrary, that the garriſons had been reinforced, in the way of precaution, a long time before the aggreſſion of the Swedes.

At the ſame time ſhe ordered baron Nolken, the ſwediſh miniſter, to quit the empire without delay.

Hoſtilities were commenced between the Swedes and Ruſſians*, in Finland, a few days after the king's arrival in that province. Each ſide charged the other with the firſt aggreſſion, and it would be of little uſe to enter into the merits of the queſtion; the hoſtility was conſidered and treated by each as a declaration of war. The Swedes were generally ſucceſsful in the ſmall actions and ſkirmiſhes that now took place, taking ſeveral places of no great conſequence, beſieging others of greater, and ſeizing ſome ſtrong poſts and difficult defiles, which might

* June 21ſt.

ſerve to facilitate their further operations in a country which nature had rendered in all reſpects ſo extremely impracticable.

The ſwediſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, and ſeveral corvettes, paraded about the gulph, and even advanced to within ſight of the batteries of Cronſtadt, and ſeemed to bid defiance to the ruſſian armament. That armament had received ſailing orders for the Mediterranean; but the appearance of the ſwediſh fleet occaſioned them to be recalled.

So near an approach of an enemy could not but greatly alarm the capital, where the voice of war, except in iſſuing its decrees againſt remote nations, had never before been heard, from the firſt laying of its foundations by Peter the great. Troops were drawn from all quarters for its protection, and every poſſible meaſure adopted to ſecure it from the effect of any ſudden attack, to which, from ſituation, it was ſo much expoſed. The younger branches of the imperial family were removed to Moſco; but the empreſs, with her uſual magnanimity, waited unappalled to face the tempeſt. All the kozaks within reach were haſtily collected to be turned looſe, as opportunity ſerved, upon the ſwediſh provinces; and admiral Greig ſailed with a ſtrong fleet from Cronſtadt, to counteract the deſigns of the enemy

enemy by ſea, on which ſide only they could yet menace Peterſburg.

If Ruſſia was ſlow in her movements by land, ſhe was by no means ſlack in her naval preparation, which was ſo favourite an object, that no labour was deemed a toil, nor no expence a waſte of treaſure, in its purſuit. For, beſides that the ſea preſented the ottoman weak ſide, and that one deciſive action on that element would more fatally affect the ſecurity of the turkiſh empire than the loſs of half a dozen battles by land, Ægypt, and the beautiful iſlands of the Archipelago, held out ſuch a variety of faſcinating objects, and ſo apparently eaſy of attainment, that it would require no common degree of political temperance and ſelf denial to withſtand the temptation of ſeizing them. It need ſcarcely be obſerved, that all the ottoman poſſeſſions on the continent of Europe muſt, after ſuch an event, lie at the mercy of Ruſſia.

A powerful fleet of eighteen ſail of the line, moſt of them heavy ſhips, of high rates, and great weight of metal, together with a cloud of frigates, and other ſmaller and lighter veſſels, ſuited to the nature of the ſeas and intended ſervice, were accordingly equipped, and deſtined for the Mediterranean. As the celebrated count Orloff, who had acquired ſo much glory in the

laſt war, and who had the addition of Tſcheſminſki to his title, in commemoration of the remarkable deſtruction which then befel the turkiſh fleet, in a port or bay of that name, on the coaſt of the Leſſer Aſia, had now declined, from ſome cauſes not generally known, to take upon him the command of this expedition, that important truſt was committed to the charge of admiral Greig, a Scotſman, a brave and diſtinguiſhed ſeaman, who, in a ſtrange country, without fortune or intereſt, had riſen, merely by his ſuperior merit, from the humbleſt walks of life to his preſent exalted ſituation.

Another naval armament was prepared, with no leſs induſtry, for the ſervice of the Euxine; but Ruſſia, not being able to cope with her enemy there, in the number or ſtrength of line of battle ſhips which ſhe could bring into action, intended to ſupply this defect by the conſtruction of a numerous flotilla, compoſed of frigates, gallies, gun-boats, and various deſcriptions of light veſſels, calculated to act near the ſhores, in a depth of water which would not admit the approach of capital ſhips. It was, however, principally intended for the ſecurity of Kinburne, by rendering the entrance of the Dniepr inacceſſible to the turkiſh fleet; which was the more eaſily accompliſhed, as the navi-

gation is at all times difficult, and particularly dangerous to bad ſeamen, from the number of ſhoals with which the river is incumbered, together with the narrowneſs of its channels and variety of the currents. As theſe veſſels were not, on this ſervice, liable to be expoſed to the dangers of the ſeas and ſtorms, they were accordingly fortified with a tremendous artillery, compoſed of heavy battering cannon, and of large mortars: and, being beſides excellently ſtored with able ſeamen and veteran ſoldiers, they were eminently fitted for the deſigned purpoſe. The prince of Naſſau, who had been heard of in the late war, both in the french unfortunate attempt on the iſland of Jerſey, and in the ſtill more diſaſtrous attack of the combined nations of France and Spain on the fortreſs of Gibraltar; and whoſe uncommon rage for adventure, and eagerneſs to ſignalize himſelf, have led him almoſt to every part of the world where any ſervice was to be performed or danger encountered; was appointed to the command of this naval armament on the Euxine.

It would ſeem as if the unaccountable ſupineneſs with which Europe looked on, as if totally unconcerned, at that dangerous precedent, and atrocious act of fraud, perfidy, and violence, the

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diſmemberment of their neighbour kingdom of Poland, had miſled the united allies of Auſtria and Ruſſia in their preſent ſyſtem of policy, and that they took it for granted, that the ſubverſion of an antient, and one of the greateſt empires in the world, with the apportioning of its vaſt members and ſpoils to their mutual aggrandizement, would have been beheld with the ſame indifference in the preſent day, which had prevailed on their firſt eſſay at partitioning countries in the former memorable inſtance.

But things were now changed, and the minds of men and of nations were not aſleep; or, what amounts to the ſame thing, were not ſo entirely occupied by mean concerns, or ſelfiſh petty deſigns, as to overlook affairs of the greateſt moment. That ſupineneſs, to which both great communities and the moſt watchful individuals are at particular periods ſubject, may, perhaps, with propriety, be as much conſidered as an epidemical diſeaſe of the mind, as thoſe which rank under the ſame deſcription are with reſpect to the body. Some of the principal powers in Europe had long ſince looked back with wonder and regret at their own inertneſs upon that occaſion. The inſupportable haughtineſs and arrogance of one of the allied powers, which was diſpoſed to dictate to all mankind in their moſt

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ſecluded concerns, together with the ſelfiſh policy and known duplicity of the other, ſerved likewiſe to rouſe that general attention, and to awaken that jealouſy, which their power and union alone ſhould have been fully competent to excite, without any auxiliary aid. England too had had full leiſure to ruminate upon, and ſufficient cauſe to reprobate, that abſurd and blind policy, under the influence of which ſhe had drawn an uncertain ally, and an ever to be ſuſpected friend, from the bottom of the Bothnic gulf, to eſtabliſh a new naval empire in the Mediterranean and Archipelago; a meaſure which, if it could have taken effect, would not only have proved in the end ruinous to England herſelf, but which would have involved, while it could laſt, all the vaſt ſurrounding regions of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, in continued broils, troubles, and wars.

The allied empires accordingly now experienced a very general coldneſs, with an implied or declared diſapprobation, with reſpect to their claims, pretenſions, and deſigns, in almoſt all the courts of Europe. The republic of Genoa was almoſt the only exception; ſhe, beſides a conſiderable loan, granted the uſe of her ports to Ruſſia, and engaged to furniſh the mediterranean fleet with ſtores and ſupplies. The determination

termination of Venice with reſpect to the war, and the refuſal of the king of Sardinia to permit recruiting in his dominions were already known. The new commercial treaties which Ruſſia had entered into with Naples and Portugal, whatever future benefits they might poſſibly afford in ſeaſons of peace, could tell but little with reſpect to the war. But Spain, which was of much greater importance than both together, had a turkiſh ambaſſador then at her court, who was treated with the greateſt honours, and was not only herſelf at all times avowedly inimical to the Ruſſians obtaining any footing whatever in the Mediterranean, but, it was now univerſally believed, would have reſiſted the paſſage of their fleet through the ſtreights by force of arms; and nobody was ignorant that her fleets were far ſuperior, both in number and goodneſs, to thoſe of Ruſſia.

With reſpect to France, ſhe made no ſecret of her diſpoſition, nor could any doubt be entertained of it though ſhe had. An uninterrupted alliance for between two and three centuries, (a duration of friendſhip ſcarcely to be paralleled between nations upon any equality of power,) a moſt advantageous commerce, amounting nearly to a monopoly, through that period, together with many particular acts of friendſhip and

and many eſſential political ſervices in ſeaſons of great occaſion, were, excluſive of that juſt policy which had long induced her to regard with a jealous eye any augmentation of power to Ruſſia, the ſtrong ties that bound France to the porte. It was then eaſily ſeen, that nothing leſs than the deranged preſent ſtate of her own affairs, could compel her to be a quieſcent ſpectator to the ruin of the ottoman empire.

As to the northern powers, Sweden ordered the ſtricteſt neutrality to be obſerved, and forbid her ſeamen, and ſubjects in general, from entering into the ſervice of any of the belligerent powers. Denmark was ſilent, and the part ſhe was diſpoſed to take not yet underſtood by her neareſt neighbours; but, although ſhe was known to be a good deal in the hands of Ruſſia, yet it was not believed that, under the influence of a wiſe political foreſight, ſhe could really wiſh any farther aggrandizement of that overgrown empire, whoſe coloſſal power had already rendered the independence and liberties of all the nations of the north extremely precarious.

Holland, the open mart of all nations, whether friends or enemies, for all commodities, lent ſome money to Ruſſia; but this was no public act, and the loan dragged on but heavily even with individuals. With regard to the political ſenti-

ſentiments of that republic, nobody would venture to ſuſpect her government of being at all favourably diſpoſed to thoſe ſchemes of ambition and conqueſt adopted by the allied empires.

The pruſſian monarch, both from ſituation and power, ſeemed alone capable of diſturbing the views, and even of entirely fruſtrating the deſigns, of the allied empires; nor was there more than one ſovereign in Europe, to whom any great acceſſion of dominion to either would have been ſo immediately dangerous. And though he was not perhaps competent ſingly to maintain a conteſt againſt their vaſt united force, yet, in a cauſe which affected ſo many other intereſts as the preſent, he could not long fail of effective alliances. His policy was, however, too deep to be yet fathomed. Collected in his redoubtable native force, which rendered him ſuperior to apprehenſion and circumſtance, he coolly ſurveyed the gathering tempeſt, and waited to behold it burſt, with a ſteady eye and an undaunted countenance. The emperor had done as much as the habitual ſtiffneſs and pride of the court of Vienna, joined to his own incurable animoſity, could well admit, in order to procure the quieſcence and good neighbourhood of Pruſſia during the war. But the ſuperior haughtineſs of his great ally diſdained to ſtoop

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to temporizing meaſures, or to conciliatory expreſſions. It ſeemed as if ſhe rather wiſhed, that Pruſſia was conſidered as not of ſufficient importance to come within her eſtimate of things, than that it ſhould be at all regarded as interfering with her views of ambition, or as capable of diſturbing her calculations of conqueſt and dominion. Perhaps it was thought that all the ſpirit and wiſdom of that kingdom had fled with the immortal Frederic.

Such was the aſpect of public affairs, and ſo little favour did the countenance of moſt of the european powers expreſs to that war, which its partizans warmly hoped, and many others expected, would have terminated in the final ſubverſion of the ottoman empire.

The diſpoſition of the firſt maritime power in the world was ſtill unknown; and upon that much depended. We have ſeen that the expedition to the Mediterranean was a moſt favourite object with Ruſſia; but it was not its being merely a favourite that rendered it of importance; it was conſidered as the moſt effective, if not the moſt potent arm of the war, without whoſe aid no other exertion could be deemed abſolutely deciſive. Yet it was ſcarcely poſſible that this expedition could ſucceed, in almoſt any degree, without the concurrence, favour,

favour, and even aſſiſtance of England. With an equal diſregard of future conſequences, and contempt of former favours and ſervices, Ruſſia had, for ſeveral years, heaped diſobligation upon diſobligation, in her tranſactions with Great Britain; and even now, when ſo much was immediately at ſtake, ſhe ſtill refuſed to renew the commercial treaties which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations; at the ſame time that ſhe was running about all Europe to form commercial engagements with ſtates, who from nature, ſituation, and circumſtances, were incapable of receiving or communicating any benefit from the connection; and that the engliſh merchants, without the ſecurity of a treaty, were ſtill the great ſupporters of the manufactures and commerce of that empire. Yet ſhe expected that England would again become the dupe to her ambition!

In this confidence, pilot-boats were engaged in England, to wait in proper ſtations for the arrival of the ruſſian fleet; to guide them into thoſe ports which, being the ſtation of the royal naval arſenals, could the more expeditiouſly ſupply them with all manner of ſtores and proviſions, and, at the ſame time, moſt effectually facilitate their equipment for the mediterranean ſervice. Theſe objects being attained, the

the pilots were to conduct them through the channel, and then to be replaced by a new ſet, equally verſed in the navigation of the more diſtant ſeas which they were to encounter.

In the mean time, ſome merchants in London, as agents to the court of Peterſburg, had agreed for the hire of eighteen large ſhips, of four hundred tons, or upwards, to ſerve as tenders to the ruſſian fleet, in the conveyance of proviſions, ſtores, arms, artillery, and ammunition. In this promiſing train ſeemed the ſtate of preparation for the expedition, when a proclamation in the London Gazette, prohibiting Britiſh ſeamen from entering into any foreign ſervice, threw a fatal damp upon the deſign. This was attended with a notice to the contractors for the tenders, that the engagement for ſupplying them muſt be renounced; that the ſhips would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the ſtricteſt neutrality during the war, with reſpect to all the hoſtile powers, and conſequently ſhould afford no aid whatever to any of them. In the hope of remedying in ſome degree this grievous diſappointment, or at leaſt of putting the better countenance upon the buſineſs, and affecting not to regard it, Ruſſia applied directly to the republic of Holland for the hire of a number of

large tranſports to anſwer the ſame purpoſe; but here the diſappointment was renewed, that government not only abſolutely refuſing a compliance with the requeſt, but declaring its fixed determination to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality through the courſe of the war. As this rejection was attributed ſolely to the influence of Great Britain at the Hague, ſo it was added to the black catalogue of her political ſins, and ſtored up for future remembrance.

Though nothing could exceed the vexation which this diſappointment occaſioned, nor ſerve more effectually to exaſperate the court of Peterſburg, yet it happened, ſingularly enough, that few things could have been of more eſſential ſervice to her than the failure. For, had that fleet proceeded on its intended courſe to the Mediterranean early in the ſummer, (as was intended, and the ſervice required,) the remaining part of her marine force, her great naval and military arſenals, her poets, her golden acquiſition, the province of Livonia, and her capital itſelf, would have been all expoſed to great riſk and apparent danger, in conſequence of the rupture which ſoon after took place between her and her jealous and exaſperated neighbour the king of Sweden. Thus, it not ſeldom happens, that the favoured children of fortune are greatly

greatly ſerved by her in ſpite of themſelves, by her overruling and counteracting thoſe ill-laid deſigns, to which the blindneſs of their paſſions and violence of their deſires have given birth.

The admiral received a command to make ready for ſea; but an incident of a ſingular nature prevented his compliance.

It is well known that there is a want of native officers of ſufficient ability and experience to conduct the operations of the ruſſian navy with judgment and effect. It was not perhaps in the nature of things that this deficiency could be fully ſupplied by foreigners: it was however the only reſource; and the concluſion of the american war afforded a conſiderable ſupply of young engliſh officers, whoſe minds were too alert to live out of action if it could any where be found. Few, if any, of theſe had riſen to any higher rank in their own ſervice than that of lieutenant, ſo that the command of ſingle ſhips ſeemed the higheſt advancement to which they could yet be competent. They were however of the utmoſt importance to Ruſſia in the preſent ſtate of things; and Great Britain, notwithſtanding the jealouſies ſubſiſting between the two courts, refrained from proceeding to the extremity of recalling them home.

This known ſcarcity of commanders could not fail to attract the attention of foreign adventurers, who had acquired any experience and reputation in maritime affairs. Of this number was the engliſh pirate and renegado Paul Jones, who had rendered himſelf ſo notorious in the american war, by the miſchiefs which he did to the trade of his country, and whoſe deſperate courage, which only ſerved to render his atrociouſneſs conſpicuous, would, in a good cauſe, have entitled him to honour.

This man could not but experience the common fate incident to his character; and, finding that he did not meet the conſideration which he expected in America, he made a tender of his ſervices to the court of Peterſburg; where he was gladly received, and immediately appointed to a high command in the grand fleet which was under equipment at Cronſtadt. The britiſh officers, full of thoſe national and profeſſional ideas of honour which they had imbibed in their own country and ſervice, conſidered this appointment as the higheſt affront that could be offered to them, and a ſubmiſſion to it an act of ſuch degradation, that no time or circumſtance could wipe away the diſhonour. They accordingly went in a body, to the amount of near 30, without

without a ſingle diſſentient lagging behind, or heſitating on the account of inconvenience or perſonal diſtreſs, to lay down their commiſſions; declaring at the ſame time, that it was impoſſible for them to ſerve under, or to act in any manner or capacity whatever, with a pirate or a renegade.

Nothing could have been more vexatious or more embarraſſing to the court of Peterſburg, at the preſent critical period, than this ſpirited conduct of the officers. Punctilios of honour, operating in the face of command, was a thing unheard of in that ſervice. No Ruſſian, under the firſt rank or order, would dare to inſinuate ſuch an idea. As it was, it could not be conſidered as leſs than a direct inſult to the court, and any ſubmiſſion to it as a grievous derogation from its dignity. It would beſides eſtabliſh a precedent which might be troubleſome or dangerous with reſpect to her own ſubjects. It was well for the officers that they were not the members of a ſmall ſtate, and that this did not happen in a ſeaſon of peace, when their ſervices might be diſpenſed with. The neceſſity of the time however prevailed. The appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the Cronſtadt fleet was recalled; and that adventurer (whoſe character of an impetuous courage had made an impreſſion on the court far beyond its real value)

was ordered to the armament in the Euxine as ſecond to the prince of Naſſau. In the mean time, a ſcandalous adventure with a girl which made a noiſe in the town, occaſioned him to think it adviſable to quit the country entirely *.

The capudan-paſha having taken the command of the turkiſh force on the Euxine, appeared with a numerous fleet at the mouth of the Dniepr, where the ſervice grew warm between him and the prince of Naſſau, who, with his flotilla of gallies and light veſſels, oppoſed, with great ſucceſs, the attempts of the enemy to become maſters of that river.

Two, if not three, deſperate and bloody engagements took place between the hoſtile armaments, in that broad lake which is formed by the Dniepr and the Bogue, before their junction with the Euxine, and which is itſelf ſo conſiderable a piece of water, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Liman ſea. In all theſe the Ruſſians were ſo highly ſucceſsful, as to afford occaſion for ſinging Te deum twice, if not oftener, both at Peterſburg and in the army of prince Potemkin. The Turks diſplayed as deſperate a valour in theſe amphibious

* Paul Jones afterwards went to Paris, where he died in July 1792, and was attended to his grave by a deputation of the national convention.

engage-

engagements (which could ſcarcely be conſidered as naval) as their brethren had done by land, on the borders of the Danube; but, through that fatal indolence which has ſo long marked the conduct of that government, they were totally ignorant of the navigation of a river, which had for ſo many ages been in their poſſeſſion. The Ruſſians were likewiſe ſuperior to them in point of ſeamanſhip; ſtill more in the conſtruction and fitneſs of their veſſels for the ſervice; and above all in the management of their powerful artillery.

The Ruſſian ſquadron commanded by admiral Greig now put to ſea, and the hoſtile fleets came in ſight, or rather approached each other, in a fog, off the iſland of Hoogland. The action did not commence till five o'clock in the afternoon, and in two hours ſo many ſhips were diſabled on both ſides, that they were mutually obliged to lay by and refit, in order to prepare for a renewal. No ſcene was ever leſs calculated for the action and evolutions of two ſuch numerous fleets, compoſed of great and heavy ſhips; a narrow ſea, every where ſtudded with innumerable iſlands, rocks, and ſhoals, intermixed with deceitful channels, and rendered more dangerous by violent, irregular, and jarring currents: nor where the climate and face of the

heavens more favourable: overcaſt ſkies, a frequently foggy, and generally hazy air, with ſudden tempeſtuous ſqualls and unexpected dead calms, were among the incommodities which ſeemed to ſet ſeamanſhip and naval ſkill at defiance. Indeed ſuch an exhibition, in ſuch a ſituation, ſeemed ſcarcely leſs than an outrage upon nature. At eight o'clock the battle was renewed with apparently a freſh acceſſion of rage on both ſides. Nothing could exceed the dreadful violence of the action, or the fury and determined obſtinacy with which it was maintained. The darkneſs was ſo great, that the knowledge of each ſhip was in a great meaſure confined to her own ſphere of action; ſo that, ignorant and heedleſs of what was paſſing elſewhere, ſhe fought as if all depended upon herſelf individually, and as if victory or deſtruction were the only alternatives. The victory, as is uſually the caſe in actions not apparently and abſolutely deciſive, was claimed by both fleets, as a flag-ſhip had been taken on either ſide. Admiral Greig from the acceſſion of freſh ſhips, and the nearneſs of the great naval magazines and arſenals, was enabled, in leſs time than ſeemed credible, to put again to ſea with greater force than before. He came ſuddenly upon the Swedes in the road of Sveaborg in Finland, where

where they were as inapprehenſive of attack, as they were from ſituation and circumſtance incapable of defence. He attacked them furiouſly in this moment of conſternation and ſurprize, and during the diſorder occaſioned by their endeavours to get within the protection of the forts. The Guſtavus Adolphus, of ſixty guns, ſeemed a ſacrifice deſtined to the ſecurity of the reſt; ſhe was taken and burnt by the Ruſſians.

From this time to the end of the campaign, the Swedes continued ſhut up in the harbour of Sveaborg, being precluded even from the means of refitting, while the ruſſian fleet rode the triumphant miſtreſs of all the ſeas within the Sound; nor was it long before a numerous flotilla of ſmall veſſels, laden with proviſions for the army in Finland, as well as for the fleet, through the fatal lack of protection, became a prey to the enemy.

The joy which this ſudden turn of affairs occaſioned at Peterſburg may be eſtimated from the panic which had ſo lately, for the firſt time, ſeized the reſidence; and the importance that was ſet upon the ſervice at court, was fully ſhewn by the favour which the empreſs conferred upon admiral Greig. A letter written to him with her own hand, was filled with praiſe and acknowledgment; and this honour was ſucceeded

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or accompanied by the ſubſtantial benefits of a conſiderable ſum of money, and of a good eſtate in Livonia. This commander, who was ſingularly fortunate in his life, ſeems to have been no leſs ſo in its period, which took place before the cloſe of the year, when he was loaded with all the honour and favour which he ſeemed well capable of receiving. The diſtinction and honour paid to him did not end with his life. His funeral was, by the expreſs orders of the empreſs, celebrated with the greateſt pomp, being decorated and adorned by all thoſe appropriate naval and military honours, which the martial nations of Europe have aſſigned as the laſt tribute to the memory of the brave.

Guſtavus now offered propoſals to the empreſs for an accommodation, on conditions purpoſely calculated to wound the pride of that princeſs. He required that count Razumoffsky ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed for the intrigues and machinations of which he had been guilty at Stockholm; that the part of Finland and of Karelia that had been ceded to Ruſſia by the treaties of Neuſtadt and Abo, ſhould be reſtored to Sweden; that the court of Peterſburg ſhould make peace with the porte, under the mediation of Sweden, who would propoſe to re-eſtabliſh the independence of the Krimea, in conformity with

with the treaty of Kaïnardgi, and in caſe of a refuſal, ſhould fix the boundaries ſuch as they were in 1768. He farther required that Ruſſia ſhould immediately diſarm, and conſent that Sweden ſhould remain armed until after the concluſion of the treaty.—"What language!" exclaimed Catharine. "If the king of Sweden "were already at Moſco, I ſhould even then "ſhew him what a woman like me is able to "do, ſtanding on the ruins of a mighty empire."

Inſtead of making any reply to the propoſals of Guſtavus, her majeſty recalled general Mikelſon, who was fighting againſt the Turks; conferred on him the command of her army in Finland, and reinforced that army with 20,000 men. Beſides, ſhe reckoned on the defection of the officers of Guſtavus; and it was ſoon found that ſhe was not miſtaken.

The king of Sweden's manifeſto, which was publiſhed * ſhortly after his arrival in Finland, but ſome time later than the Ruſſian, was fraught with much ſevere charge againſt the conduct and views of the court of Peterſburg, for a ſeries of paſt years; and the effect heightened, where the charge is deficient, by the bitterneſs of implication, which leaves more to be conceived than directly meets the eye.

* The 21ſt of July.

But

But the ſcolding of ſovereigns affords no more pleaſure or edification than that of common people; and moſt of the real cauſes of complaint we have already gone over. The deſigns and attempts of Ruſſia upon the province of Finland, which are here delineated, being new ground, yet untouched upon, we ſhall here lay open. That power is charged with having, almoſt continually, ever ſince the concluſion of the peace at Abo, endeavoured to debauch the Finlanders from their connection with Sweden, under the ſpecious pretence of rendering that great duchy independent, under which it would have experienced the fate which Courland already had done, of becoming a feudatory province to Ruſſia. The failure of theſe projects, which is attributed only to the integrity and attachment of the people, ſeemed to damp the deſign for a time; but the defection of an officer of high rank, whom ſhe found means to draw into her ſervice, and who had been long entruſted by the king in commands of importance in Finland, was ſaid again to have rouzed all the ambitious projects of that court. That ſhe had accordingly laboured inceſſantly ſince to excite a ſpirit of diſſention and revolt among that people, and had even ſent a general officer

officer privately into the country to reconnoitre the poſts, and to ſound their diſpoſition.

The king of Sweden was deſtined to meet with the greateſt diſappointments, and to experience the moſt grievous mortifications, in his endeavours to emancipate his country from foreign interference and control, to redeem, in ſome degree, her antient glory, and to enable her once more to hold her former rank among nations. But the ſtar of Ruſſia was ſtill predominant, while that of Sweden was not only obſcured for the preſent, but afforded too much room for apprehenſion, that it was upon the point of ſetting to riſe no more.

Thoſe machinations and intrigues, of which the king complained ſo much in his manifeſto, had taken much deeper root, and their effect was much more widely diffuſed, than he was yet aware of. A counter revolution, by which the antient forms of government would be preſerved, the ambition and venality of the nobility gratified, while the nation was in fact governed, as Courland long had been, by a foreign miniſter reſident in its capital, was the grand and determined object of Ruſſia; and her meaſures were ſo laid, that ſhe probably calculated to a certainty upon the event. For ſhe

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was ſeconded in the open and avowed part of her views (which went no farther than the reſtoration of the former government) by much the greater part of the antient nobility, with all the influence which ſo numerous and eminent a body neceſſarily poſſeſſed; to which were to be added the infinite number of others, who, from various cauſes, were inimical to the late revolution, and conſequently to the ſyſtem of government founded upon it.

It was ſaid, and ſeems probable, that a counter-revolution was only part of the object, that no modification would be admitted, and that nothing leſs than abſolute dethronement could afford ſatisfaction. That the king's croſſing at ſo critical a period the favourite views of his great adverſary, the contemplation of which had long afforded the moſt ſublime gratification, had created a perſonal animoſity beyond all bound and meaſure, and which the moſt ſignal vengeance could ſcarcely be ſufficient to allay. It was even rumoured, (and rumour is not always unfounded, particularly in deſpotic governments,) that, in the height of reſentment, an idea was once entertained of reviving the title of the grand duke to the crown of Sweden, as ſucceſſor to the late unfortunate emperor Peter the Third, who had, unhappily for himſelf, relinquiſhed

quiſhed that quiet and ſecure inheritance, for the deluſive proſpect of ſucceeding to the unſtable and bloody throne of a vaſt, but disjointed and diſordered empire.

However that was, the excellently conſtituted, diſciplined, and well-appointed army which the king commanded in Finland, rendered ſtill more formidable by the native unconquered courage of the troops, and the ſingular intrepidity of their royal leader, would have been able, if nothing ſiniſter intervened, and that no internal unſoundneſs vitiated its compoſition, to carry diſmay and terror to the gates of Peterſburg; nor could the wiſeſt foreſee what revolution in public affairs ſuch an event might not have occaſioned. But, inſtead of the gratification of theſe flattering ideas, the king ſoon diſcovered that he could place no confidence in his army; that a general diſaffection was ſpread among his officers, eſpecially thoſe in high commands, and of the moſt noble families; that they were not only determined to counteract all his deſigns in the field, but that ſeveral of them carried on a traitorous correſpondence directly with the enemy, while a great number (and undoubtedly the honeſteſt part) declared openly, that they could not, without a violation of their conſcience and

the oaths they had taken to their country, draw their ſwords in a war, undertaken without the conſent of the ſtates of the kingdom, and of courſe contrary to the conſtitution.

This unexpected diſgrace and misfortune Guſtavus was doomed to encounter at the ſiege of Frederikſham, where the officers refuſing to lead on the troops to the attack, and he appealing to the latter, on whom he ſtill relied, to his utter aſtoniſhment and diſmay, they generally laid down their arms. While the king ſeemed inextricably involved in theſe difficulties and dangers (for even the ſafety of his perſon, in his own army, appeared to be ſufficiently problematical) and that the ſeeds of diſſention and diſaffection were equally ſhooting up in the capital and other places, the violent irruption of the Danes, from the ſide of Norway, into the richeſt provinces of Sweden, ſeemed deſtined to overwhelm him entirely. Under this additional preſſure, he was obliged to abandon the army in Finland, in its preſent uncertain and disjointed ſtate, to the care of his ſecond brother the duke of Oſtrogothia, while he undertook himſelf a perilous voyage by ſea, expoſed to the greateſt of all dangers, that of being captured by a moſt cruel and inplacable foe, from whom deliverance could

could ſcarcely be hoped: and, after a ſevere circuitous journey by land, proceeded to the ſouthern extremity of his dominions, to oppoſe, without troops or means, a new and very formidable enemy.

The ſwediſh monarch was already within a ſhort diſtance of Frederikſham. He had cauſed a part of his troops to be embarked on board of gallies, giving orders to general Siegeroth, who had the command of them, to go and land on the other ſide of the town, to begin the attack as ſoon as ever the troops were on ſhore, and to fire a cannon as a ſignal for acting on both ſides at once.

Siegeroth was retarded by contrary winds, and had great difficulty in landing his troops. He however ſucceeded at length, and gave the ſignal agreed on. Immediately Guſtavus reſolved to lead up his men. But ſome of the principal officers, at the head of whom was colonel Heſteko, repreſented to him how very difficult it was to attack the fortreſs on the ſide where he was; that it was againſt their duty to allow him to expoſe his perſon to inevitable danger; and that he himſelf ought to ſet ſome value on the lives of his faithful ſubjects.

This certainly was not ſuch language as was held by the conquerors of Narva: but Guſ-

tavus III. had no reſemblance with Charles XII. Nevertheleſs, expreſſing his ſurpriſe at theſe words of his officers, he replied, that he would be obeyed. Upon this, ſeveral of them united in declaring that they could not undertake an offenſive war without the conſent of the nation; that they were ready to ſhed their blood in defence of their country; but that they would never reſolve to attack a neighbour who had not provoked them.

Stung with this reſiſtance, the king addreſſed himſelf to the ſoldiers. The regiment commanded by colonel Heſteko immediately laid down their arms, and their example was followed by the greater part of the army. Guſtavus now charged lieutenant-colonel Roſenſtein to go and tell general Siegeroth, to reimbark his troops: and he himſelf retreated to Kymenagorod. The next day he cauſed the officers who had refuſed to march to be put on board a ſhip, and ſent them to Stockholm; where they were received by the populace with every mark of diſpleaſure, and were ſhortly after put under arreſt.

It is not to be doubted that the nobles, who regretted the change in the antient form of government, were willing to avail themſelves of this opportunity for bringing it back to its primitive ſtate, and were acting in concert with

Ruſſia.

Ruſſia *. But a number of other officers, whom they had gained over, were not in the ſecret; and the ſoldiers eſpecially could not be acquainted with it.

There ſeems no ſmall reaſon for ſuppoſing, although it could not be oſtenſibly avowed, that, notwithſtanding the near ties of blood and affinity between the royal houſes of the two northern kingdoms, yet, that the court of Copenhagen was little leſs diſpoſed to wiſh for and to accelerate a revolution in the government of Sweden, than even that of Peterſburg: although it was eaſily ſeen (the king's temper and character conſidered) that ſuch a meaſure could not be accompliſhed, without the moſt imminent danger to his perſon, and a great hazard of very ruinous conſequences to his family.

This diſpoſition, however, is not entirely, nor perhaps in any great degree, to be attributed to that inveterate animoſity which for ſeveral ages has been ſo deeply rooted between the Danes and the Swedes. The king of Sweden himſelf, moſt unadviſedly, as being totally inconſiſtent with that ſyſtem of policy, which ſeems in other reſpects to have been the great object of his life,

* Letters were intercepted of a correſpondence which was carried on by ſome of the principal officers with the court of Ruſſia.

indicated, ſoon after the commencement of his reign, diſpoſitions ſo inimical to Denmark, as ſeem fully to juſtify her in adopting ſuch meaſures of ſecurity, and of forming ſuch alliances and connections, as were beſt calculated to counteract the apparently dangerous ambition of ſo near a neighbour; who ſeemed watchful to take an unneighbourly and unfair advantage of any circumſtance that might embarraſs her affairs, or misfortune that might weaken the ſtate.

It appears, if we credit the ſtate of the matter given by the Danes, that the very year in which the king of Sweden accompliſhed the revolution in the government of his own country, he directed his views to the production of one of a different nature in Denmark, which, without meddling with its government, would, by a fatal ſeparation of its parts, have reduced the power and conſequence of that country in the ſyſtem of Europe to nothing, and rendered its future exiſtence, in any degree, as an independent ſtate, extremely precarious. This was by an attempt to ſeparate the antient and extenſive kingdom of Norway from that crown to which it had for ſeveral centuries been ſo cloſely united, and which would have rendered the name of a kingdom ſcarcely appropriate to its remaining weak and disjointed dominion.

It has unfortunately, and by a ſtrange perverſion of reaſon and policy, been nearly the conſtant ſyſtem purſued by the court of Copenhagen, through a courſe of ages, to rule Norway with a harſh and unfeeling hand, and to afford too much room for complaint to that people, on whom its ſtrength and power ſo much depended: inſomuch that they ſeem to have been generally treated and conſidered rather as aliens than as ſubjects and equal members of the ſame general dominion and government. How far theſe cauſes of diſaffection continued to operate in the preſent inſtance, we cannot pretend to determine, but it is clear from the event that great diſcontents ſtill prevailed in that kingdom; for the new ſwediſh ſovereign was not only charged with fomenting them, with a view to exciting a general inſurrection, but with marching an army, in the year 1772, to the frontiers of Norway, under the intention of abſolute invaſion, in ſupport of the inſurgents. The diſcovery of the plot, the taking of the cyphers under which the correſpondence was conducted, along with the immediate meaſures which were purſued for placing that country in a proper ſtate of defence and reſiſtance, were alleged to be the cauſes which diſconcerted this project, and prevented, at leaſt, a hoſtile

attempt, for carrying the deſign into execution.

If this charge be well founded, as it ſeems to be, it could not be expected that the court of Copenhagen would afterwards place much confidence in the faith or friendſhip of a prince, who had afforded ſo early and ſo glaring a teſtimony of his being little bound by either; nor is it to be wondered at, that, ſo circumſtanced, ſhe ſhould be leſs apprehenſive of the diſtant power of Ruſſia, formidable as it is, than of the reſtleſs ſpirit and watchful enterpriſe of a leſs potent power, whoſe vicinity enabled him to be at all times troubleſome, and might, in certain ſituations, have afforded him opportunities of being highly dangerous. Ruſſia was likewiſe the natural check upon his ambition, and almoſt the only one that could be effective in caſes of ſudden emergency. To theſe cauſes and motives for Denmark's throwing herſelf into the arms of Ruſſia, in preference to Sweden, is to be added, and particularly remembered, the ſignal obligation by which ſhe had been recently bound to the empreſs, for the ſingular ceſſion which ſhe made of her ſon's (the great duke's) patrimonial rights and inheritance in the duchies of Sleſvick and Holſtein; which may well be conſidered as a free gift, the miſerable county of Oldenburg,

burg, though the original natal ſeat of the Daniſh ſovereigns, not warranting the name of an exchange. Few acquiſitions, if any, could be of equal importance to Denmark with this ceſſion; for, beſides the very conſiderable acceſſion of power and revenue which it afforded, with the benefit of thereby rounding and completing her German dominions, it was of ſtill much greater advantage, in precluding thoſe frequent litigations and wars, in which the ſtrangely mixed ſovereignty in theſe duchies had ſo long involved the poſſeſſors; and which would in future have become every day more arduous and dangerous, as the ſovereigns of Ruſſia would have been the oppoſite parties in the contention.

A ſtrict alliance between Ruſſia and Denmark took place upon this occaſion; and it is ſtated, that by ſome articles of the treaty then concluded, which do not appear to have been publiſhed, the latter was bound, in certain caſes therein ſpecified, to ſupply Ruſſia with 12,000 auxiliary troops, together with a naval aid of ſix ſhips of the line. Undoubtedly the court of Peterſburg was equally bound, in oppoſite circumſtances, to afford an aid to Denmark commenſurate to her power. Theſe tranſactions took place in 1773, the year immediately ſucceeding the alarm, occaſioned by the

alleged attempt or deſign upon Norway. Theſe ſpecific conditions, whether ſuppreſſed parts of the treaty then communicated to the public, or included in a ſeparate one, were evidently kept ſecret, as the king of Sweden declared, in a public document, that he never heard of them, until the general notice given by Denmark of their intended fulfilment; while he ſeemed upon the whole rather to doubt their exiſtence.

Whatever political errors the Swediſh ſovereign might have committed in his early conduct with reſpect to Denmark, it ſeems probable that he afterwards ſincerely repented the haſty and unguarded looſe which he then gave to his imagination or paſſions; and he had ſince endeavoured, by a courſe of the moſt friendly attentions, to conciliate matters, and to wear off all remembrance of them. It ſeems more than probable that his political ſyſtem was not then formed, and that it was not abſolutely decided until his return from the viſit to Peterſburg.

Upon the ottoman war, the approach of the preſent ſtate of affairs in the north, and his own determination to renew or confirm the antient alliance with the Turks, he particularly laid himſelf out, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, not only to gain the friendſhip of Denmark, but to ſecure her effectually, by making her a convert to his

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own opinions and principles. The ſudden and unexpected viſit which, towards the cloſe of the year 1787, he paid at the court of Copenhagen, and which was ſo devoid of all etiquette and ceremonial, as to reſemble the free intercourſe between two common neighbours, was a matter which excited, at leaſt, the obſervation and curioſity of all the courts of Europe, and occaſioned much general political ſurmiſe and ſpeculation. The king of Sweden's object in this viſit was to impreſs deeply on the court of Copenhagen the ſame apprehenſions which he entertained himſelf, of the danger ariſing from the overgrown power, the inſatiate ambition, the inſidious intrigues, and the over-reaching conduct of Ruſſia; that the danger was common to both the northern kingdoms; that nothing leſs than the cloſeſt union and friendſhip, which their intereſts required to be indiſſoluble, along with the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous mutual exertions, could poſſible avert, or even ward it off for any conſiderable time. He ſtated, that if Ruſſia ſucceeded in her preſent ambitious deſign of overthrowing and partitioning the ottoman empire, her power would then become ſo vaſt, that all efforts on their ſide to control or reſtrain it, would not only be futile, but acts of abſolute lunacy; for they could afterwards only

only hope to ſubſiſt as miſerable dependents on her clemency.

Though the king of Sweden enforced all theſe and various other arguments, repreſentations, and propoſals with all thoſe powers of elocution by which he was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, and which wrought ſuch wonders in the popular aſſemblies of his own country, here they failed of their wonted effect: ſo much does that, in all things, depend upon time, place, and circumſtances. The royal Dane had already determined on the meaſures which he would purſue, and no converſion was made on either ſide.

The defection of the Swedes was more than a victory to Catharine. Not ſatisfied with this advantage, that princeſs, conformably with the treaties ſubſiſting between her and Denmark, called for the ſuccours ſhe had a right to demand of that power againſt the Swedes. Though wiſely inimical to war, the court of Copenhagen was faithful to her engagements. She immediately ordered a fleet to be equipped: and the prince royal, accompanied by prince Charles of Heſſe*, went on board, in order to proceed to Norway, and put themſelves at the head of the troops.

* The prince of Heſſe is viceroy of Norway, and father-in-law to the prince of Denmark.

The

The Norwegians, a ſimple and generous nation, maintaining amidſt their rocks the purity of antient manners, and that valour which rendered them ſo famous under Margaret of Valdemar; the Norwegians, whoſe lofty ſtature, flaxen hair, and venerable beards, keep alive the remembrance of their fathers, thoſe heroes who ſo often invaded England, and received the well-earned honour of being celebrated in the ſtrains of Oſſian; the Norwegians heard not in vain the ſignal of war. At the voice of the prince of Denmark, they darted through the paſſage* enſanguined by the death of Charles XII. entered the weſtern provinces of Sweden, forced, at Quiſtrum, a part of the regiment of Weſtrogothia to capitulate, made themſelves maſters of Oudewallia, and of all the other places they came to in their way; and went and laid ſiege to Gothemburg.

Gothemburg, after Stockholm, is the moſt conſiderable city of Sweden. The loſs of it would have been almoſt irreparable to Guſtavus.

* Near Frederikſhall. It may here be obſerved, that there is no longer any doubt in Sweden that Charles XII. was aſſaſſinated. An officer of the name of Cronſted, who died at a very advanced age, declared that he himſelf killed Charles XII. at the inſtigation of that Monarch's brother in-law.

That

That prince was already returned to his capital, where he learnt that Gothemburg was beſieged: whereupon he ſent the regiment of Yemland and his own guards to reinforce the garriſon, and repaired himſelf to Dalecarlia. There he aſſembled the peaſants, reminded them of what they had atchieved for Guſtavus Vaſa, and conjured them to march with him to the defence of their country.

Three thouſand Dalecarlians followed him at once. They were imitated by the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces; and Guſtavus ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous army: but, dreading leſt Gothemburg ſhould ſurrender ere theſe ſuccours arrived, he departed with one of his aides-de-camp and a ſingle domeſtic, put on a diſguiſe, that he might not be known to the enemy, and penetrated as far as the walls of the city. He at firſt met with great difficulty in entering the gates. The ſoldiers would not believe that it was their king; but at length the gates were opened to him.

Notwithſtanding his preſence, notwithſtanding the army that followed him, Gothemburg would have been taken, had it not been ſaved by the arrival of unexpected ſuccours.

Nothing could be more calamitous, or apparently hopeleſs, than the aſpect of the king's affairs

affairs upon his return from Finland. Fortune had not only deſerted, but ſeemed totally adverſe to him in every thing, and ruin appeared opening on every ſide. The contagion from the army had ſpread through various parts of the kingdom, and infected even the capital.

Happy it was for Sweden, or at leaſt for the king, that at this moment of ſuch imminent danger, there were other powers who were not indifferent to the conſequences of that country being overwhelmed by Ruſſia and Denmark, whereby every idea of any future balance of power in the north would be totally deſtroyed. It was the more fortunate at this ſeaſon, as the affairs of France were getting into ſuch a train as rendered the expectation of her being able, in any degree, to ſupport her ancient ally, every day more precarious. The new treaty of alliance concluded between Great Britain and Pruſſia, and the ſtrict union already cemented between them and Holland, formed ſo powerful a counterpoiſe to the dangerous alliance between the two empires of Germany and Ruſſia, as ſeemed capable of being an inſuperable bar to the progreſs of their ambitious deſigns. To render this balance the more completely effective, it was neceſſary, in the firſt inſtance, to prevent Sweden from being too much weakened, and, above all things, any

revolution from taking place in its government; and, ſecondarily, to preſerve the ottoman empire from ſubverſion or abſolute ruin. We here ſee how, through a ſudden turn of public affairs, theſe powers found it neceſſary to put themſelves in the place of France, to ſupply her imbecillity by ſupporting her alliances, and to take up that ſyſtem of policy which ſhe had ſo long purſued. Such were the motives which induced England and Pruſſia to become arbiters of the peace and protectors of the liberties of the north, ſo far as the preſervation of ſome equipoiſe in the ſtate of power there might tend to produce that effect.

Mr. Hugh Elliot, the engliſh miniſter at Denmark, was no ſooner informed that Gothemburg was in danger, than he quitted Copenhagen, croſſed Sweden in great expedition, and repaired to the camp of the daniſh prince. He ſummoned that prince to raiſe the ſiege of Gothemburg, declaring to him, that unleſs he evacuated the territory without delay, England would lay an embargo on all the daniſh ſhips in her ports, and would ſend a ſquadron to bombard the caſtle of Kronenburg.

The prince of Denmark, ſtruck with theſe menaces, immediately thought of retiring, when the

the pruſſian miniſter * came and ſeconded that of Great Britain. A truce was preſently concluded; and the army of the daniſh prince now peaceably returned to Norway †. It was certainly to the ſpirit and activity of the britiſh miniſter, that Guſtavus was indebted for the preſervation of Gothemburg. The menaces held out by that envoy had not been preſcribed him in his diſpatches: but they ſucceeded; and he was highly applauded by his court.

In the mean time the ruſſian forces that were gone againſt the Turks and the Tartars were gaining frequent advantages. The fleet of the Euxine fell in with that of the capudan-paſha, of ſixteen ſhips of the line, and obliged him to avoid an engagement by flight. Not long after, the capudan-paſha, having been to reconnoitre the gallies and armed boats under the prince of Naſſau, off Nicolayef, not far from Otchakof, immediately collected all the veſſels of every kind in the road of that fortreſs, to the number

* Count Von Rhode.

† Notwithſtanding the various difficulties which the negotiating miniſters had to ſurmount, another armiſtice for a month was happily concluded: and this was ſucceeded by a third, for ſix months, the term of which did not expire until the 15th of May 1789.—The prince of Heſſe withdrew his army from Sweden into Norway, rather before the middle of November.

of

of fifty-ſeven, and prepared in perſon to attack the ruſſian ſquadron, ſtationed at about two leagues from the place where the Dnieſtr falls into the Euxine. On the 18th of June he advanced, with a favourable wind from the Liman, which he had entered, againſt the Ruſſians, who were waiting to receive him. The Turks, ſtill having the wind in their favour, began the cannonade, but at too great a diſtance to effect any harm. The Ruſſians remained quiet till the enemy was within reach, and then fired ſo ſucceſsfully, that, notwithſtanding the capudan-paſha's great ſuperiority, he was obliged, after an engagement of five hours, to retire in great diſorder under the guns of his grand fleet, which was below Otchakof; and the prince of Naſſau returned to his former ſtation. The Turks had three gallies ſunk, and moſt of their crews drowned; and many more were damaged and diſabled. The Ruſſians loſt not one veſſel, and had very few killed and wounded. Prince Naſſau diſplayed great bravery in this action; but the victory was chiefly owing to the talents of captain Fanſhaw, an engliſh officer, with two french officers, Varage and Verbois *, and above all to the dutch captain Winter.

* Verbois afterwards periſhed in a veſſel that blew up in the road before Otchakof.

Here

Here it was ſeen what courage national pride can inſpire, even in the breaſt of ſlaves. When the capudan-paſha's ſhip caught fire, a turkiſh ſailor ran acroſs the flames to ſave the flag; and while he was unfaſtening it, a ruſſian ſailor, not leſs intrepid, jumped into a canoe, climbed on board the ſhip ready to blow up, ſeized on the flag, and brought the Turk with him priſoner.

The generals Taliefin and Tekely defeated, in ſeveral rencontres, the Tartars of the Kuban. Tamara had already made himſelf maſter of Georgia, and kept the Leſghis in awe.

In the mean time vaſt armies were preparing for the field. Nothing that tended to enſure the moſt deciſive ſucceſs could be withheld from the grand favourite prince Potemkin, in whoſe department the war lay. It was even expected, that, in the diſtribution of kingdoms and empires, a ſovereign dominion, under whatever title, would be allotted to his ſhare *. Thoſe Ruſſians who conſidered themſelves as patriots, entertained in the mean time the moſt ſerious apprehenſions of the conſequences which might enſue, under certain poſſible and natural circumſtances, from ſo vaſt a power being lodged in

* There is little doubt that the idea at this time was to have formed the territories of Moldavia and Valakhia into a monarchy, for the ſake of placing prince Potemkin at its head.

the hands of a ſingle man, as he already poſſeſſed. With reſpect to the war, nothing could exhibit a more forbidden or a more deplorable aſpect than the intended ſcene of action. Famine, peſtilence, with all the deſolation and calamity of a long and moſt cruel war, had laid waſte the tartar countries, and ravaged both the turkiſh and ruſſian borders; ſo that all the proviſion for the armies, the ſingle article of green forage excepted, was to be brought from an immenſe diſtance.

In defiance of theſe difficulties, a vaſt ruſſian army, eſtimated at 150,000 men, appeared on the banks of the river Bogue *; adjoining to the confines of Poland, Turkey, and Tartary, and on the way to the Euxine, under the orders of prince Potemkin and general count Romantzoff. Theſe being aſſiſted by prince Repnin, generals Suvaroff and Kamenſkoi, frequently beat the Turks, who avenged themſelves on the Auſtrians. This great force was ſupported by a field-train of 137 pieces of artillery, beſides an enormous park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, deſtined for the ſiege of Otchakof; and furniſhed with that exuberance of powder, ball, ſhells, and all manner of military machines, which are the uſual concomitants of a ruſſian

* About the 18th of June.

army, particularly when engaged, as at preſent, upon favourite ſervice. A large portion of this army, under the command of general Romantzoff, was deſigned to enforce reſpect on the ſide of Poland and Lithuania, and to furniſh a ſtrong ſeparate command under general Soltikoff, to ſupport the auſtrian commander prince Cobourg on the ſide of Moldavia; with a view firſt to the ſiege of Khotyim, and, after that capture, to the conqueſt of the whole province. This aſſignment of the active and principal ſervice to prince Potemkin was ſo deciſive a victory over his great rival and competitor for honour and favour, general Romantzoff, and ſo grievous a mortification to the latter, that it preſently after occaſioned his reſignation.

While theſe tranſactions were going forward, prince Potemkin was employed in the ſiege of Otchakof. Fortifications of uncommon ſtrength, an abundant ſupply of ammunition, a numerous garriſon, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, ſeemed neceſſarily to render this place impregnable. The beſiegers ſuffered ſo greatly from cold, that they had been obliged to dig ſubterraneous huts to ſcreen themſelves from its fatal effects: being likewiſe in want of proviſions, they died in great numbers every night. But the froſt, which cauſed them ſo much trouble to reſiſt, aſſiſted them in taking the town. Obſerving that it was

open to attack on the ſide of the Liman, where it was leſs fortified, and where the ice facilitated acceſs to it, prince Potemkin ſuddenly ſent orders to command the aſſault; and, while he remained in his camp with his miſtreſſes, his lieutenants, at the head of a party of troops, ruſhed into the town, and ſpread carnage and deſolation on every ſide. It is not, however, to be thought, that prince Potemkin was detained by any ſuggeſtions of fear: for ſeveral days before he had paſſed many times to and fro, with the utmoſt coolneſs, under the very cannon of the ramparts *, becauſe he had learnt, that ſome one or other had dared to ſuſpect his courage. He abſented himſelf from the aſſault of Otchakof for no other reaſon than that it did not preſent him with an opportunity for diſtinguiſhing himſelf in an extraordinary manner.

Prince Anhalt-Bernburg followed a different conduct. He was the firſt to enter the town, at the head of the grenadiers † and chaſſeurs. The fight was long and bloody, both on the ramparts

* It is related that, in one of theſe walks, a general officer, who accompanied him, had his thigh carried away by a cannon-ball, and ſuffered ſome cries to eſcape him. "What do you cry for?" ſaid Potemkin coldly. The officer was ſilent from reſpect. He died the next day.

† Prince Potemkin had created a body of 40,000 grenadiers and the ſame number of chaſſeurs. He muſt always be in extremes.

and

and in the ſtreets. The turkiſh ſoldiers defended themſelves with obſtinate bravery; and almoſt all of them were ſlain with their weapons in their hands. The reſt were put to the ſword; and a great part of the inhabitants met the ſame fate.

The Ruſſians now gave up the town to plunder. They entered the houſes; and, after putting the maſters of them to death, carried off the valuables, and abandoned themſelves to all the horrors of debauchery and rapine. The ſcenes of riot and ſlaughter laſted three whole days, and coſt the lives of more than 25,000 Turks. In making the aſſault, the Ruſſians loſt 12,000 men.

Otchakof, independent of the value it derived from ſtrength and ſituation, ſeems to have been of much more conſideration as a trading town, than it was uſually regarded in this part of the world; for the number of inhabitants now made priſoners exceeded 25,000; a degree of population which affords no ſmall indication of former proſperity. Such are the fatal ravages of unpitying war! As this event took place on the feſtival of St. Nicholas, the great patron of the ruſſian empire, ſo the ſuperſtition of the ſoldiery and common people attributed the guidance of the fortunate ſhell entirely to their tutelary ſaint, who, they ſuppoſed, had thus gained a complete victory over Mohammed. If the occaſion had

been leſs doleful, it might have been rather a laughable circumſtance to obſerve, that all the letters from Otchakof, however they diſagreed in other things, took particular notice, and ſeemed to lay ſome emphaſis upon the recital, that four thouſand very fine women were included among the priſoners.

1789. Theſe conqueſts were nearly as fatal to the victors as to the vanquiſhed; but Catharine was not the leſs ardent in continuing the war. She ordered a freſh levy of recruits throughout her extenſive domains; for the purpoſe at once of reinforcing her armies in the Krimea and on the banks of the Danube, of ſtationing others in Poland, and of marching a formidable force againſt the Swedes. But men began to grow ſcarce in the ruſſian empire: the wilds of Siberia were therefore ranſacked for its exiles; and a part of them were brought to be incorporated with the recruits.

During all this time Guſtavus III. was employed in forming ſchemes of revenge. He could not forgive the empreſs for the diſſenſions which her agents were perpetually fomenting in Sweden, nor the daniſh government for the ſupport it had given to Ruſſia. A lieutenant-colonel, named Benzelſtierna, took up the reſolution of adminiſtering to the animoſity of his maſter.

The

The ruſſian ſquadron had entered the road of Copenhagen, where it was detained the whole winter by the ice. Sprengporten, the ſwediſh ambaſſador, was a frank and generous old man, much reſpected by Guſtavus, but in whom he placed no great degree of confidence. Without recalling this ambaſſador, his majeſty conferred the title of chargé des affaires on a perſon named Abeldyl, and ſent him to Copenhagen, earneſtly recommending it to him to have a vigilant eye on the proceedings of the Ruſſians and the Danes.

Benzelſtierna loſt no time in joining Abeldyl; and, under pretence of ſetting on foot ſome new ſpeculation in commerce, connected himſelf with a captain Obrien, a native of Ireland. He purchaſed his ſhip of him, paying 12,000 rix-dollars in advance*; and, leaving him in the command of it, entered into a written engagement farther to pay him a like ſum, if the enterpriſe ſhould ſucceed. He then freighted the veſſel with caſks well pitched within and without, and filled with brandy; and ordered him to take advantage of the firſt north-eaſt wind, by ſetting fire to his ſhip. By this execrable contrivance it was intended, not only to burn the ruſſian fleet, but that of the Danes alſo.

* About 3000l. ſterling.

Obrien had the indiſcretion to ſpeak of his agreement to one of his friends named Teſt. This man, ſtruck with horror at what he heard, went in all haſte to report it. The daniſh miniſtry immediately ſent people to ſearch the veſſel, and cauſed Obrien to be taken into cuſtody. Benzelſtierna, ſuſpecting the failure of his plot, had gone for ſafety to Abeldyl, who ſent him to the houſe of a miniſter of his acquaintance, whence he was enabled to make his eſcape in the livery of a domeſtic.

The daniſh ſailors, excited by the Ruſſians, aſſembled in great numbers about the gate of Abeldyl, declaring their intention to murder him, and ſet fire to his houſe. But, having foreſeen this tumult, Abeldyl had already gone off to the coaſts of Scania *. The rioters were diſpatched by a detachment of the military.

The

* The deſign of ſetting fire to the men of war in the harbour of Copenhagen was doubtleſs horrible. But perhaps the Ruſſians had no reproaches to make the Swedes on that head. Theſe two nations, who have often contended with ſo much courage, have ſometimes ſeen their courts deſcending to the vileſt ſtratagems againſt each other. Stockholm will never forget the aſſaſſination of major Saint-Clair. In 1738, Saint-Clair, who had been ſent to Conſtantinople with powers for negotiating, was returning with a Frenchman named Couturier. Being arrived at Khotyim, the paſha informed him, that he was laid wait for by two emiſſaries

The atrocious attempt of Benzelſtierna was not calculated to work a reconciliation between the two courts of Peterſburg and Stockholm; and the operations of the war were reſumed with vigour. The fleets of the two nations met at the diſtance of a few leagues from Bornholm: but the wind permitted them not to come to an engagement.

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emiſſaries of Ruſſia: the ſame thing was likewiſe told him by a Pole. Saint-Clair rejected the advice with indignation. At an inn in Breſlau he met the ruſſian captain Kutler, litutenant Levitzki, and four ſoldiers diſguiſed as ſervants, who, after having recognized him, went and waited for him near the village Zauche. There Kutler came to him, greeted him politely, and aſked whether he was not major Saint-Clair? Being anſwered in the affirmative, he arreſted him in the name of the empreſs Anne, and conducted him into a wood near Neuburg. Here he made him alight from his carriage, led him about twenty paces from it; fired a piſtol at him, and, on his falling, cauſed him to be diſpatched by the four ſoldiers. During this time, Levitzki, who was placed as a guard on Couturier, coldly ſaid to him: "Ne timeas, peccatum eſſet contrà ſpiritum ſanctum, male-"facere viro probo ſicut te. Iſte habuit quod merebat; "erat inimicus magiſtri. Inimicus magiſtri eſt inimicus "Dei; et puto me non peccaſſe interficiendo eum." The aſſaſſins then proceeded to divide the effects of the two travellers between them, and carried Couturier into the ruſſian fortreſs of Sonneſtein, whence, on being diſcharged, he was aſſured that, if he ever ſpoke a word of the aſſaſſination of Saint-Clair, they had means for ſeizing him and puniſhing him, wherever he ſhould happen to be.

The

The Swedes having fitted out a fleet of gallies and gun-boats, the empreſs oppoſed to them one of ſimilar conſtruction, under the command of the prince of Naſſau, who had quitted the Liman* and the Euxine for that purpoſe; having likewiſe, as it was ſaid, had ſome differences with prince Potemkin †.

The ruſſian gallies fell in, by ſurpriſe, with the ſwediſh gallies near Rogenſalm; and prince Naſſau, always aſſiſted by the counſels of Varage ‡, captain Winter, and a milaneſe officer, the chevalier de Litta §, gained the ruſſian flag a ſecond victory. Winter, to whom the ſucceſs of this day was principally owing, was ſtruck by a cannon-ball, and died of the wound.

During this engagement between the galley-fleets, the Ruſſians had attacked the ſwediſh army, ſtill in the neighbourhood of Frederikſham. Their advantages by land were not leſs

* A broad lake, formed by the Dniepr and the Bogue, before their junction with the Euxine; and which is itſelf ſo conſiderable a piece of water as to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Liman ſea.

† They were reconciled afterwards.

‡ Some time after this engagement, Narage was killed in a quarrel with the kozaks.

§ The chevalier de Litta, a Milaneſe, commander of the order of Malta, is vice-admiral of the galley-fleet.

conſiderable

conſiderable than thoſe by ſea; and they forced the troops of Guſtavus to evacuate ruſſian Finland.

The ſwediſh monarch, having collected freſh forces, was preparing for a ſecond invaſion of the ruſſian territory: but Catharine had had time to put them in a ſtate of defence. The two armies met; and the Ruſſians, commanded by general Numſen *, gained a complete victory.

1790. Guſtavus was not diſcouraged by his late ſeries of ill ſucceſs; but went in perſon on board the galley-fleet, to go in queſt of the prince of Naſſau; from whom, after a deſperate battle, he captured 30 veſſels. Not long after he diſembarked, at the diſtance of not more than 30 miles from Peterſburg, ſeveral battalions of infantry and ſome ſquadrons of light troops. The reſidence was a ſecond time ſtruck with conſternation; during which the empreſs was at Tzarſkoſelo, and never quitted that country-palace.

The grand fleet of the Swedes, commanded by the duke of Sudermania, purſued the ruſſian ſquadron in the very port of Reval. This act of imprudence coſt them two of their ſhips. But this miſtake was followed by one of greater

* General Numſen is a Dane, and has been long employed in the ruſſian ſervice.

magni-

magnitude, as attended with more danger. They conducted into the gulf of Viborg both their ſquadron of men of war and the galley-fleet, commanded by Guſtavus III. By this ill-judged ſtep the entire deſtruction of the ſwediſh navy ſeemed inevitable: but it was ſaved by two ruſſian admirals, Tſchitſchagoff and the prince of Naſſau.

Admiral Tſchitſchagoff, who had under his command a fleet far more numerous than that of the Swedes, neglected to provide with batteries the only two paſſages by which it was poſſible for the Swedes to eſcape. Theſe latter, who were in abſolute want of proviſions, and could not have long remained in the gulf, attempted to make their way out by ſetting fire to the ruſſian ſquadron that blocked up the paſſage. The wind coming favourably round to the eaſt, they got ready and ſent a fire-ſhip to lead the van, in order to force the ruſſians to diſperſe *. But the fire-ſhip ſtruck upon a ſand-bank and did no harm to the Ruſſians, while they ſet fire to ſeveral of the ſwediſh ſhips which the wind forcibly drove towards them. Nine ſhips of the line, three frigates, and upwards of 20 gallies fell into the power of the Ruſſians.

* The inventor of this ſtratagem was ſir Sidney Smith, then attendant on the king of Sweden.

This

This action was particularly fatal to the britiſh officers. Captain Deniſon, a gallant and ſkilful commander, had his head ſhot off by a cannon-ball; captain Marſhal, in attempting to board one of the enemy's ſhips, fell into the ſea and was drowned; captain Miller, equally bold and enterpriſing, was ſeverely wounded in his leg; captain Aikin, likewiſe a ſpirited and brave commander, had his thigh-bone ſhattered ſo as to render amputation neceſſary, and about four years afterwards died of an epidemic fever at Cronſtadt. Several others were ſeverely wounded; and captain James Trevenen, after having gallantly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, was mortally wounded by the laſt ſhot fired by the enemy, and died on the fifth day after *.

The

* This gentleman was a native of Cornwall, and of a very reſpectable family in that county. After receiving his education at the royal academy at Portſmouth, in the year 1776 he embarked as a midſhipman with captain Cook, on his laſt voyage to the ſouth ſeas. In taking aſtronomical obſervations, and ſurveying the various coaſts, he proved an able aſſiſtant to that great navigator, who juſtly conſidered him as a young man of ample promiſe to do honour to the ſervice and to his country. On his return from that expedition in 1780, he was promoted by the earl of Sandwich to the rank of lieutenant; in which capacity he ſailed, till the concluſion of the war, with captain King, who had the higheſt

The remainder of the ſwediſh gallies retreated behind the rocks of Schvenko-ſund, which form ſeveral

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higheſt eſteem and friendſhip for him. Being impatient of an inactive life, in the year 1787 he ſollicited employment of lord Howe, then at the head of the admiralty; but, unfortunately for the naval ſervice of his country, his application proved ineffectual. This refuſal induced him to draw up a plan of diſcovery; and, knowing that a great ſaving would accrue to the ruſſian government from ſending by water the proviſions for their ſettlements, which now go by land to Kamtchatka, &c. at a great expence, and that two thirds of them are often ſpoiled, he made a propoſal for opening an intercourſe by ſea between Kamtchatka and Japan, and the northern parts of China, and for keeping in thoſe ſeas a naval force ſufficient to make themſelves reſpected; which was laid before the empreſs Catharine, and ſo well approved of by her, that ſhe immediately ſent an officer expreſs to invite him over to carry it into execution. He arrived at Peterſburg the latter end of 1787; but the war with the Swedes breaking out, put a ſtop to the intended expedition, and he was prevailed upon to accept the command of a ſhip of the line. Two ſmall ſquadrons had been fitted out at Cronſtadt for Kamtchatka; one of them to be commanded by captain Trevenen, and was to go round cape Horn; the other by captain Malofskoi, who was to double the cape of Good Hope. It ſhould ſeem as if the empreſs acted in conjunction with the court of Spain, for Malofskoi was to proceed to the Philippines to purchaſe large veſſels from the Spaniards. It ſhould be here obſerved, that the Ruſſians claim the coaſt of America, to a conſiderable diſtance ſouth: they have not themſelves determined

ſeveral petty iſles on a level with the water's edge. The prince of Naſſau, whoſe fleet was twice as ſtrong as that of Guſtavus, advanced to give him battle. His unſkilfulneſs offered an immenſe advantage to the Swedes; he was completely beaten, and loſt the half of his fleet, with more than 10,000 men. However, his arrogance and vanity did not forſake him. Imagining that the people under his command had ſuffered themſelves to be beaten purpoſely to tarniſh his glory, he wrote to the empreſs:— "Madam, I have had the misfortune to fight "againſt the elements, the Swedes, and the "Ruſſians. I hope that your majeſty will do "me juſtice."

The empreſs returned him for anſwer: "You "are in the right, becauſe I am reſolved that "you ſhall be ſo. This is highly ariſtocratic;

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termined how far; this probably may hereafter be fixed by the advantage they may promiſe themſelves from the country which they claim. In the various engagements that afterwards took place in the Baltic with the Swedes, captain Trevenen bore a very active part, and was honoured with repeated marks of the empreſs's favour; and doubtleſs had he lived, would ſoon have arrived at the foremoſt rank in her ſervice. He was a man of ſtrong natural abilities, greatly improved by cultivation; and poſſeſſed a high ſenſe of honour, and a liberal enlightened mind.

"but

" but it is therefore ſuitable to the country in " which we live. Depend always on your " affectionate CATHARINE."

Thus were the Ruſſians at length defeated, partly, it may be ſaid, on their own element, and entirely in their own favourite manner of fighting, in which they were deemed irreſiſtible; ſo that as the Swedes formerly taught them to conquer by land, they now in return taught the Swedes to beat themſelves in this new ſevere mode of deciding the fortune of war. The prince of Naſſau likewiſe, who had plumed himſelf highly on being the king of Sweden's direct adverſary, and who ſhewed ſome evident marks of oſtentation on his ſucceſſes againſt him, was now compelled to lower his creſt, and to reſign his laurels to a ſuperior foe. The ſcanty proviſion made for him afterwards by the empreſs *, whoſe uſual magnificence, expence, and liberality being conſidered, ſufficiently ſhews that this misfortune ſerved much to wear away the memory of his former exploits. Indeed

* The empreſs had conferred on prince Naſſau the rank of admiral of the galley-fleet of the Baltic, an eſtate in land with 4000 peaſants upon it, a palace in town and a penſion of 12,000 rubles. All this however did not prevent him from quitting the ſervice of Ruſſia for that of Pruſſia.

few

few things could have gone nearer to the heart of the empreſs than this defeat.

The battle of Schvenko-ſund accelerated a peace. Guſtavus III. by this time ſaw the imprudence of his conduct, and no longer indulged the expectation that the war which he had declared againſt the Ruſſians could be attended with any great ſucceſs, and make a uſeful diverſion in behalf of the Turks. He was rather apprehenſive leſt the Ruſſians might take advantage of the deſtruction of his navy, of the diſordered ſtate of his finances, and of the diſcontent of the ſwediſh nobles, to invade his dominions: accordingly he made no heſitation to accept the terms that were offered him on the part of the empreſs.

Galvez, the miniſter of Spain at the court of Ruſſia, offered his mediation to Catharine, and zealouſly employed his good offices in obtaining favourable conditions, by promiſing that Guſtavus would directly march againſt the French. This was all that the empreſs deſired; and, feigning to pardon her enemy, in hope of ſeeing him entangle himſelf in a diſtant adventure, ſhe blinded him the more to her views by affecting an uncommon generoſity. She required nothing more than the re-eſtabliſhment of the treaties of Neuſtadt and Abo, and the total oblivion of

the late hoſtilities. The treaty was accordingly ſigned at Varela without delay *.

The general heads of accommodation were thus ſettled between the principals themſelves; it was in the firſt inſtance laid down as a rule, that the allies on either ſide were not to be conſulted, nor reference had to any mediation whatever,

* The 14th of Auguſt.—General Igelſtrœm on the part of Ruſſia, and lieutenant-general baron Armfeldt on that of Sweden, were, without loſs of time, appointed to confer and ſettle the terms of peace. They met on the banks of the Kymene, in a large tent erected for the purpoſe, between the advanced poſts of the two hoſtile camps, on the plain of Varela. As the commiſſioners had not much buſineſs to ſettle, and their principals were alike eager for a ſpeedy accommodation, the negotiations could not be tedious. A ſuſpenſion of arms was immediately agreed on; and ſhortly after the terms of peace were concluded and ſigned, the ratifications being to be exchanged in ſix days. This new treaty placed matters exactly in the ſame ſtate they had been in before the war. All the antient treaties, or more properly thoſe which had been concluded ſince the reign of Charles XII. were renewed and confirmed. If any change at all took place, it was only with reſpect to the recognition, or perhaps farther ſpecification, of a clauſe in one of the earlieſt of thoſe treaties, by which the Swedes were to be allowed to purchaſe corn free of duties in Livonia, whenever that commodity exceeded a certain price in their own country; a condition which Ruſſia had hitherto made little ſcruple of violating upon the moſt trying and diſtreſſing occaſions. The frontiers were to be left preciſely in the ſame ſtate they were in previous to the war.

but

but that the peace ſhould be the immediate act, and proceed from the ſpontaneous will of the two ſovereigns, without foreign advice or conſultation; this equally ſuiting the pride of one, and the peculiar circumſtances of the other, with reſpect to thoſe allies whom he was now unexpectedly deſerting. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the empreſs was as little pleaſed or ſatisfied with the conduct of her ally Leopold, as the king was with that of Great Britain or Pruſſia.

During the war of Finland, Catharine had at once an opportunity for diſplaying her clemency and her ſeverity. Some ſwediſh officers, employed as teachers in the cadet-corps at Peterſburg, preſumed to carry on a correſpondence with their countrymen, in which they ſpoke of the empreſs with great boldneſs, though probably with much truth. Their letters were intercepted and carried to her majeſty, who read them through. The Swedes were immediately arreſted, and examined by Stepan Ivanovitch Schiſchkoffsky *, head of the ſecret commiſſion, and by a worthy military officer whom the empreſs joined with him in order to moderate

* If it were the faſhion to believe in the metempſychoſis, it might be imagined that the ſoul of the cauſtic and barbarous St. Dominic had paſſed into the body of Stepan Ivanovitch Schiſchkoffsky.

his ſavage diſpoſition. The crime was proved, and the guilty had certainly merited the puniſhment of death. Yet the empreſs was ſatisfied with ſending them into her interior provinces, continuing to them the whole of their appointments, and at the peace ſhe ſent them into their own country.

At the ſame time Radiſcheff, a director of the cuſtoms at Peterſburg, publiſhed the narrative of a journey from Peterſburg to Moſco, in which he feigned to have had a dream, wherein Truth appeared to him, and bade him deliver ſuch repreſentations, in which the unbounded authority of Potemkin was energetically depicted, and where he had even dared to attack the empreſs. This was the firſt printed libel that ever appeared at Peterſburg; and, what is extremely remarkable, conſidering the ſtrict obſervation that is kept over the preſs, it was ſold on the Exchange by hawkers for two days together at the price of 20 kopeeks, with the imprimatur of the public licencer upon it, before it attracted the notice of government. Inquiries being made about it, the officer of the police whoſe buſineſs it is to licence publications ſaid, that he looked at the manuſcript, ſaw that it was the account of a journey to Moſco, ſtampt it with his imprimatur, and thought no more of it.

Though

Though Radiſcheff had printed the pamphlet in his own lodgings, with the types of the cuſtom-houſe preſs *, yet he was preſently diſcovered, and, on being interrogated concerning it, he ſimply replied, that he conceived there was no harm in publiſhing a dream, and that if people ſaw their own reſemblances in it, he was no more in fault than a man who ſhould hold up a mirror for every one to look in that pleaſed. At this the empreſs was ſo incenſed that he was ſent to Siberia. It was certainly a ſhocking piece of inſolence, but ſuch an one as Frederic II. would have only laughed at.

Count Alexander Vorontzoff and princeſs Daſhkoff his ſiſter, the known patrons of Radiſcheff, were ſuſpected of having inſtigated him to this publication. The former was even expoſed to the examination of the ſecret commiſſion, and from that time both the one and the other loſt much of their conſequence at court.

Thus Catharine behaved to the Swedes with an apparent generoſity; becauſe ſhe wanted to gain partiſans in Sweden; while ſhe could ſometimes put on a terrible aſpect to the nation already in ſubmiſſion to her power.

* All the public inſtitutions almoſt have printing-rooms belonging to them.

It will afford no cauſe of ſurpriſe that the peace occaſioned much joy at Stockholm, when it is known that the public rejoicings at Peterſburg were carried to an extreme, which ſeemed little conſiſtent, either with the pride of that court, or with the contempt with which it had ſo recently affected to regard and treat its late adverſary and new friend. Among other inſtances of this, a grand Te deum was performed in the kazanſki church, to aſſiſt at the celebration of which the empreſs came in perſon from Tzarſko-ſelo, as did the grand duke from Pavloſsky, and moſt of the nobility from their reſpective country reſidences; the whole court being for that day and night in the utmoſt ſplendor of gala; while the whole city was blazing with illuminations, and re-echoing with acclamations of joy. The magnificence likewiſe with which the empreſs honoured and rewarded the negotiators on both ſides who concluded the peace, ſufficiently teſtified how much ſhe found herſelf intereſted in that event.

But the war of the Ruſſians with Sweden has detained us from that which they were carrying on againſt the ottoman porte. We ſhall now return to it. The grand ſignior Abdul Achmed IV. was

was dead *, and the ſon of ſultan Muſtapha, his brother and predeceſſor, had aſcended the throne under the name of Selim III. †

Abdul

* This excellent ſovereign, being taken ſuddenly ill in the ſtreet, dropped down, and, notwithſtanding the aid of medicine, expired early the following morning, April 7, 1789. His diſorder ſeemed to have been a kind of apoplexy, though his death, as is cuſtomary in ſuch circumſtances, with reſpect to princes, was attributed to poiſon.

† Selim III. was at that time 28 years of age, and had been, with the greateſt integrity and honour, brought up and educated by his uncle moſt carefully, with a view to the ſucceſſion, in prejudice to his own iſſue, but in a pious conformity with the laſt requeſt of his dying brother and predeceſſor. Selim, of whom great hopes ſeemed to have been formed, as if deſtined to reſtore the fortune and greatneſs of the empire, ſoon ſhewed himſelf equally unworthy of the education which he received, and of the inviolable integrity which his uncle had diſplayed in his favour. The opening of his reign was ſullied by avarice and rapacity, and his throne deeply ſtained by cruelty and blood. The wealth of the grand vizir Yuſſuf paſha, which was eſtimated at about a million ſterling, pointed him out as one of the firſt objects for the gratification of theſe ſordid and inhuman paſſions. Inſtead of accepting his wealth as the price of his life, his blood was doomed to be ſacrificed to his treaſure.—This great miniſter and general was ſeized at the head of the grand army at Ruſchiuk, and being conveyed priſoner to Conſtantinople, was ſentenced to baniſhment and to the forfeiture of his treaſures; but this puniſhment being, upon reflection, thought too mild, he was murdered on the way to the place of his exile, and his head being brought back in triumph, was hung up to ornament the gates or walls of

Abdul Achmed IV. had departed entirely from that intolerable haughtineſs and arrogance, thoſe unjuſt and cruel maxims of policy, and that ſtern ferocious diſpoſition, which had rendered ſo many of his predeceſſors the objects of dread and abhorrence to mankind. Humanity, beneficence, and juſtice were the leading traits of his character; and he ſeemed a new graft upon the ottoman ſtock. He had received his education in the ſeraglio at Scutari, near the capital, where, beſides the learning common to his country and religion, in the turkiſh, arabic, and greek, he had been early initiated in the ſciences and languages of ſeveral of the countries of chriſtendom; he ſpoke the italian, ſpaniſh, and french

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the ſeraglio. Confiſcations and executions were now become faſhionable, and their terror was leſſened by their frequency; while diſtance or obſcurity could only afford protection againſt the rapacity and cruelty of the new ſultan. The violent ſpirit of caprice and innovation with which he was poſſeſſed, was ſtill perhaps more ruinous to the empire than even this vile ſyſtem of government. Every thing his uncle or the late grand vizir had done or eſtabliſhed, was altered or overthrown, and, excepting the capudan-paſha, or grand admiral, every man was diſpoſſeſſed of his office who was qualified to hold it.—He afterwards, however, corrected his diſpoſition, and exhibited himſelf under a worthier character.

languages

languages with tolerable fluency, but read and underſtood them all perfectly. This facility of converſation undoubtedly contributed to render him ſo fond as he was of the company of intelligent Europeans; a gratification which ſeemed to form one of his moſt pleaſing amuſements. He read much, but gave a decided preference to hiſtory and politics, beyond all other ſtudies. Though ſcrupulouſly exact in his obſervance of all the muſſulman religious rites and duties, yet he was ſuſpected of being a freethinker; which perhaps proceeded from his never having been known to condemn, or to treat with ridicule or contempt, the religious rites or opinions of any of the various ſects, whether chriſtian or other, which were ſpread through the wide circuit of his dominions. On the contrary, he appeared the common father of them all, not only protecting them, as far as his intelligence could reach, from the oppreſſion of the Turks, but becoming himſelf occaſionally the compoſer of their religious feuds, and the mild reſtrainer of their violence.

With reſpect to government, he ſaw perfectly, and deeply lamented, the incorrigible vices and abuſes which prevailed in every part of the empire, and which were ſo cloſely entwined in the conſtitution itſelf, as not to afford a hope of his being able to eradicate, or even to reform them

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in any effectual degree. He abhorred the janiſſaries, as an ill-governed, turbulent, and moſt dangerous body. Their entire diſſolution, and the eſtabliſhment of the military force of the empire upon european principles, were the great objects of his wiſhes through the courſe of his reign; and if it had not been his ill-fortune to have lived in evil days, and in a bad neighbourhood, he might poſſibly have gone greater lengths towards their attainment than may be now eaſily imagined. He was fond of peace, becauſe it ſuited his views, in training his ſubjects to the purſuit of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, as the means to render them rich and happy, and to which he gave them every encouragement. But he ſufficiently ſhewed that he was not afraid of war, when neceſſity required that fatal deciſion.

We have the teſtimony of the celebrated count de Vergennes, late prime miniſter of France, and formerly ambaſſador at the porte, (who can be conſidered as no incompetent judge,) that Abdul Achmed was one of the fineſt gentlemen he had ever ſeen. Europeans were aſtoniſhed when they heard him diſcourſe with intimate knowledge of the ſtate of the arts, of the amuſements, and of the parties in their reſpective countries; when they heard him talk like a connoiſſeur

noiſſeur of the muſic, operas, and paintings of Italy; of the french and engliſh theatres; and ſtill more, when he ſtated the political views and intereſts of the greater nations, and talked familiarly of the french intrigues in England and Holland, and of the factions which they formed or nurſed in thoſe countries. His favourite and happieſt parties were formed with the chriſtian miniſters at the porte; and of theſe, the marquis de Choiſeul Gouffier and ſir Robert Ainſlie, the french and engliſh ambaſſadors, ſeemed to hold the firſt place in favour. In theſe private parties, all aſſumption of ſtate and dignity was laid aſide; a perfect equality appeared, and the moſt unreſerved freedom of converſation took place. He was fond of wine, and was ſaid, upon theſe occaſions, ſometimes to indulge it to exceſs. It was in theſe moments of hilarity that he laughingly ſaid, "if he were to become an infidel, he ſhould "aſſuredly embrace the roman catholic commu-"nion, for that all the beſt european wines grew "in their countries; and indeed, that he had "never heard of a good proteſtant wine."— Upon the whole, Abdul Achmed, the morning before his death, might have been ſafely claſſed among the beſt ſovereigns then exiſting.

It was now ſuppoſed, and with great likelihood juſtly, that if the empreſs failed in the proſecution

ſecution of her grand ſcheme, of driving the Turks entirely out of Europe, and placing her grandſon Conſtantine upon the throne of the antient greek emperors, her next favourite object, and not much leſs dear to her, was to erect the noble provinces of Moldavia, Valakhia, and Beſſarabia into an independent ſovereignty, for her great favourite prince Potemkin; whoſe perſonal influence and vaſt power, already nearly ſupreme, had long ſpread jealouſy and alarm, if not through the empire, at leaſt through the court, and among the principal nobility. The great and conſtant oppoſition which ſhe met with from the allies, was undoubtedly the cauſe which induced the empreſs at length to abandon this deſign; and, in the place of an independent ſovereignty in theſe provinces, to ſooth Potemkin's ambition for the preſent by appointing him hetman of the kozaks, an office of the greateſt truſt and power in the empire, which likewiſe carried in ſome ſort the ſemblance of ſovereignty; and which had only been filled by count Razumoffsky ſince the days of the celebrated Mazeppa. But, in what regarded Otchakof, the Krimea, the Euxine, and all other points of her claim, ſhe perſevered in maintaining the ſame inflexible obſtinacy. This was ſo much reſented by the allied powers, and the differences upon the

the ſubject roſe to ſuch a pitch, that Ruſſia was on the point of being involved in a war with Great Britain and Pruſſia; which was indeed only prevented by the powerful oppoſition and clamour which was raiſed in England againſt the intentions of government.

If that event had taken place at a certain period, Sweden, which was already a ſore thorn in the ſide of Ruſſia, would have become not only an equal, but a ſuperior enemy. Placed by his ſituation on the only vulnerable ſide of that country, and ſupported by engliſh fleets and pruſſian armies, the heroic king would have been enabled to carry fire and ſword into the very heart of the empire; and poſſibly to produce one of thoſe extraordinary revolutions, for which that government has ever been ſo remarkable; an event for which many thought the people were at that time fully ripe. It is then eaſily ſeen of what vaſt importance it was to the court of Peterſburg to draw off Sweden from an alliance, which was capable of producing ſuch dangerous conſequences: at the ſame time, though comparatively a ſmall conſideration, yet a very favourite one, that it would enable that court to perſevere in its native haughtineſs with reſpect to the other allies.

The empreſs, fully ſenſible of the value of thoſe great events which hung upon the capture

of Otchakof, exceeded even her own uſual magnificence in the rewards which ſhe beſtowed upon the fortunate conquerors. Catharine ſent to prince Potemkin a preſent of 100,000 rubles, beſides a letter of thanks, and the honour of having medals ſtruck to eternize his glory, with a marſhal's truncheon, ſet with diamonds and entwined by a branch of laurel, the leaves of which were gold. Shortly after this ſhe conferred on him the title of hetman of the kozaks, juſt become vacant by the death of the aged Cyril Razumoffsky. The generals, prince Repnin and Suvaroff, received magnificent gold-hilted ſwords, richly ſet with diamonds, and the latter a gorgeous plume of brilliants to wear in his hat *. Eſtates, lots of peaſants, and ſums of money, were diſtributed to the other commanders; gold-hilted ſwords were ſhowered upon the other officers down to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and major; the widow of an artillery-colonel, who was ſlain in the attack, was, with her children, conſoled with a good eſtate; promotion was extended to officers of a lower or-

* This preſent made to marſhal Suvaroff muſt have appeared the more ſtrange, as, in order to gain the affection of the ſoldiers, he affected great ſimplicity and coarſeneſs of manners. He was ſeen ſometimes to take off his ſhirt among the kozaks, bidding them to hold it to the fire, ſaying that it was the beſt way of killing the vermin.

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der, and even the non-commiſſioned ſubalterns, and common ſoldiers who had entered Otchakof, were ornamented with ſilver medals.

Rewards doubtleſs adapted to rouſe a great ſpirit of emulation in the ruſſian armies! All their ſteps were marked by triumphs. Prince Potemkin took the iſle of Bereſan *. Prince Repnin drove the Turks from the borders of the Soliſka. Suvaroff beat them completely at Fokſhani †: then, hearing that the auſtrian army commanded by the prince of Saxe-Coburg was preſſed hard by that of the grand vizir, he put himſelf at the head of 8000 Ruſſians, and ran to aſſiſt the Auſtrians. The latter to the number of 30,000, were already flying before the Turks, who had attacked them with an army of 100,000 men. The intrepid Suvaroff came up and changed the whole fortune of arms.—"My "friends!" cried he to his ſoldiers, "never "look at the eyes of your enemies. Fix your "view at their breaſts: it is there that you "muſt thruſt your bayonets."—At that inſtant falling on the Turks, they were routed with a horrible carnage, and he remained maſter of the field of battle. This victory, gained near the river Rimniks, procured Suvaroff the ſurname of Rimnikſky, and the double title of count

* In 1789. † The 21ſt of July 1789.

of

of the holy roman empire and of the ruſſian empire.

Some time after this, the ſame general took poſſeſſion of Tutukay * in Bulgaria. The ferocious Kamenſkoï † reduced to aſhes the magnificent town of Galatſha, ſituate on the Danube, and the foremoſt of all Moldavia after Yaſſi, to which it was ſuperior in point of commerce. Ac-kerman, Khedſebey, Belgorod, Palenka, ſubmitted to the arms of Potemkin. Bender ſurrendered at diſcretion.

The grand vizir, who, among his other vainglorious aſſumptions, had boldly pledged himſelf for the recovery of Otchakof, made many preparations and movements which indicated a deſign of endeavouring to fulfil his promiſe; but a dreadful ſcarcity of proviſions which ſorely

* Suvaroff is as ſingular for the brevity of his ſtyle as for the rapidity of his conqueſts. On this occaſion he wrote no more to the empreſs than four lines of ruſs poetry, which ſignify, "Glory to God! Praiſes to Catharine! Tutukay is "taken! Suvaroff is in it!"

† General Kamenſkoï was ſo cruel, that Potemkin would not leave him in the command of the army. He conſigned every place he took to plunder, and then burnt it: but his rage was particularly directed againſt prieſts, whom he cauſed to be harneſſed to the baggage-waggons of the army, inſtead of horſes. The jews were alſo the object of his fury. He martyrized them by ſtripping them naked in the depth of the winter, and pouring cold water on their heads.

diſtreſſed

diſtreſſed his army, along with the watchful eye of the Ruſſians upon all his motions, and above all, the torrent of ill fortune which now began to overwhelm him from every quarter, not only eraſed all traces of that deſign, but ſoon convinced him, that even the preſervation of Bender was not within the compaſs of his power or fortune.

General Kamenſkoi, who commanded the ruſſian forces in Beſſarabia, had poſted them in ſuch a manner through the winter, as, without forming a regular blockade, greatly to incommode the garriſon of Bender, by cutting off their communications and intercepting their ſupplies. This being not only continued, but the evil augmented in the fine weather of ſummer, the garriſon was reduced to great diſtreſs, and its relief became a matter of neceſſity. The prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, who had gained great renown at the taking of Otchakof, and now commanded a detachment of Kamenſkoi's army, derived an opportunity, from this ſtate of things, of adding new laurels to the former. He had the fortune, near Cauſchen, on the Dnieſtr, to fall in with a ſeraſquier, at the head of ſeven or eight thouſand ſpahis, or turkiſh cavalry, who were conducting relief to the garriſon of Bender. Though the prince was inferior in force, he inſtantly attacked the Turks, and ſeemed to have

had no great difficulty in totally routing and diſperſing them; their convoy and every thing they poſſeſſed falling into his hands, and the ſeraſquier himſelf being made priſoner.

But defeats were now become ſo common with the Ottomans, as to afford no matter of ſurpriſe either to themſelves or others. The grand vizir had entered the province of Valakhia, but this enterpriſe proved fatal to his army, and nearly ſo to the ottoman empire. The combined forces of Auſtria and Ruſſia, under the prince of Cobourg and general Suvaroff, eſtimated only at about 30,000 men, had the boldneſs to attack the grand Turkiſh army *, ſaid to conſiſt of between ninety and a hundred thouſand men, near Martineſti, where they gained, with little difficulty or loſs, one of the moſt ſignal and extraordinary victories known in modern times. In the accounts however nothing was related but the rout, ſlaughter, purſuit, and diſperſion of the grand Turkiſh army, as if theſe had been matters of courſe, and the inevitable conſequences of their meeting.

About 5000 Turks were killed on the ſpot, and about 2000 in the purſuit; and nothing but the blunted ſwords, the wearied arms, and the tired horſes of the purſuers, could have checked

* September the 22d.

the

the ſlaughter. Few or no priſoners were made, the rage and indignation of the Turks being excited in ſuch a degree by the ſhamefulneſs of their defeat, (which, as uſual, they attributed entirely to their general,) that they diſdained to accept of quarter. The whole camp as it ſtood, including the grand vizir's tents and equipage, became a prey to the victors: 300 camels, 400 oxen, 5000 loaded waggons, 8000 tents, ſix mortars, 17 pieces of heavy cannon, 64 field pieces, near 100 ſtandards, with a prodigious quantity of ammunition and ſtores, were among the ſpoils and trophies of victory. A few hundred men killed and wounded, was the whole loſs of the victors.

The Ruſſians purſued their conqueſts to the Euxine, where the ſtrong port town of Bielgorod, more generally known of late years by the turkiſh name of Ackerman, ſituated at the mouth of the Dnieſtr, fell without much difficulty into their hands; ſuch being the preſent ſtate of hope leſſneſs and diſorder, that the garriſon was not competent to its defence. Kylia Nova, another fortreſs, lying on the northern mouth of the Danube, and which in better times would have been deemed a conqueſt of difficulty, became now likewiſe an eaſy prey.

Iſmaïl ſtill held out. Prince Potemkin had been beſieging this place for ſeven months, and now began to grow impatient that he had not yet reduced it. Living in his camp like one of thoſe ancient ſatraps, whom he alone in our days has equalled, perhaps ſurpaſſed, in luxury, he was ſurrounded by a crowd of courtiers and women, who employed every effort to amuſe him. One of theſe women *, pretending to read the decrees of fate in the arrangement of a pack of cards, predicted that he would take the town at the end of three weeks. Prince Potemkin anſwered, ſmiling, that he had a method of divination far more infallible. At that inſtant he ſent his orders to Suvaroff to take Iſmaïl within three days. Suvaroff made himſelf ready. The third day he drew up his ſoldiers, and ſaid to them:—"My brothers, no quarter! "Proviſions are dear!" and immediately began the aſſault. The Ruſſians were twice repulſed with great loſs. But at laſt they ſcaled the ramparts, forced their way into the town, and put all that oppoſed them to the ſword. Fifteen thouſand Ruſſians purchaſed with their lives the bloody laurels of Suvaroff. That general then

* Madame de Witt.

wrote

wrote to the empreſs theſe words alone: — "The haughty Iſmaïl is at your feet."

The famous Haſſan, who, from the poſt of capudan-paſha, had been raiſed to that of grand vizir, was unable to bear up againſt ſo many diſaſters, and died of vexation in his camp. His ſucceſſor was decapitated at Shumla; and paſha Yuſſuf ſucceeded him; but this change was not attended by a return of good fortune to the Turks.

1791. Several french officers were at the taken of Iſmaïl; among whom Roger Damas, Langeron, and the younger Fronſac, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the attack of that place, and were not the more noticed for it by prince Potemkin. Some days afterwards, this latter, diſcourſing of the french revolution, and treating it as a crime for a people to uſe any efforts for regaining their liberty, ſaid to Langeron: "Colonel *, your countrymen are a pack of "madmen. I would require only my grooms "to ſtand by me; and we ſhould ſoon bring "them to their ſenſes." Langeron, who, though an emigrant, could not patiently hear his nation thus ſpoke of, anſwered boldly: "Prince, I do

* Langeron had been formerly colonel in the regiment of Armagnac.

" not think you would be able to do it with all " your army." At theſe words the prince roſe up in great fury, and threatened Langeron to ſend him to Siberia *. Langeron inſtantly went away; and croſſing the Seret, which divides Moldavia from Valakhia, he entered himſelf in the auſtrian camp.

Catharine, elated on hearing of theſe ſucceſſive victories, when ſir Charles Whitworth appeared the next time at court, ſaid to him, with an ironical ſmile, " Sir, ſince the king your maſter " is determined to drive me out of Peterſburg, " I hope he will permit me to retire to Con- " ſtantinople."

Prince Potemkin, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for permitting him with ſafety to leave the army, haſtened his return to Peterſburg, to enjoy his triumphs in the approbation of his ſovereign. The empreſs received him with tranſports of joy. Feſtivities and preſents now reſumed their alternate courſe. She gave him another palace contiguous to her own, which had formerly belonged to baron Wolff, and which

* Potemkin was on ſome occaſions extremely iraſcible, and would ſometimes be ſo tranſported with paſſion as to beat even general officers: he one day gave a box on the ear to a foreigner, who was a major in the ruſſian ſervice, for having praiſed, in ſome verſes he had compoſed, the miſtreſs of his ſecretary Popoff in the ſame ſtanza with that of the prince.

had

had now been fitted up for his reception at the expence of 600,000 rubles, and a coat laced with diamonds, which coſt 200,000. He himſelf diſplayed a pomp which would have appeared exceſſive in the moſt ſplendid court of Europe. The expence of his table alone, on ordinary days, was regularly about 800 rubles: it was furniſhed with the moſt exquiſite dainties and the rareſt fruits. In the depth of winter he has beſpoke long beforehand all the cherries of a tree in a green-houſe, at a ruble the cherry. He poſſeſſed an immenſe quantity of jewels, ſome of which he had ſcarcely ſeen, and never cared about, ſince the moment they were firſt brought him. He one day took a diſlike to his diamonds, and they were all ſold: ſome time afterwards the deſire returned of having them; and he ordered them to be bought on all hands and at any price *.

* At one time he had formed the project of purchaſing from a private proprietor the iſlands of Lampeduſa and Linoſa in the Mediterranean, and of obtaining the paramount lordſhip of them from the court of Naples. As the ſcheme was laid aſide, probably on obtaining the conſent of the king of Naples to admit the ruſſian fleet into the harbours of Sicily, nothing more of it is known than that an order of knighthood was to be eſtabliſhed, ſimilar to that of Malta, for Ruſſians and Greeks, of whom proofs of antient nobility were not to be required. Of this order the ſovereign of Ruſſia was to be grand-maſter, and the governor of the iſland for the time being the maſter.

Without being ſo powerful as Biren or Mentchikoff, who wanted nothing but the title of emperor, prince Potemkin ſaw all Ruſſia at his feet, eſpecially the military, of whom he was the abſolute lord; and his levée was frequently more thronged than that of the empreſs.

Prince Potemkin, in large companies, had a downcaſt ſullen look: ſeated among twenty ladies, like a ſultan in a ſeraglio; ſpeaking to not one of them, except in monoſyllables and at long intervals: he wanted nothing but the turkiſh pipe for being abſolutely the figure we ſee in pictures of the grand ſignior. Though in Ruſſia there are a great number of princes, and the major part of them ſuperior by birth to prince Potemkin, yet he was always called *the prince*, by way of excellence.

This prince, as has been already obſerved, had a very ſtriking defect in one of his eyes: a report was one day ſent to him by the hands of a one-eyed colonel; which might very naturally have happened without deſign; he, however, took it for a piece of ill-judged wit, and teſtified his diſpleaſure in a very emphatical, and, it may be added, a very puerile manner.

He behaved with great haughtineſs towards thoſe who made their court to him. It is true, he knew his people, and conducted himſelf accord-

accordingly. He has ſometimes in public taken a ruſſian general by the collar; but he was extremely polite to all foreigners, even to thoſe who ſerved in his army as ſubalterns. He had major-generals to wait on his perſon, who performed exactly the office of valets-de-chambre: this, indeed, was no obſtacle to their promotion: and it depended on them to judge whether or not they had reaſon to congratulate themſelves on having obtained it at that price. A lady well known at Peterſburg, whoſe huſband had a place at court, ſaid publicly, in 1791, that ſhe ſhould ſet out with the prince, who had given her an eſtate of 2000 rubles a-year, to go and paſs the ſummer with him at Yaſſy.

He was eager to procure the moſt coſtly things of every kind. He had ten or a dozen violins of exorbitant price; one among others of 6000 rubles value; he never played on a violin in his life; and they were all either ſpoiled by the duſt, or gnawed by the rats; for after the moment he bought them, he never ſaw them more. Somebody ſpeaking before him of a library, prince Potemkin ſaid he had one of greater value than the moſt learned man in Europe could ſhew; and, opening a book-caſe, there appeared ſeveral ſhelves of books, which, on being taken down, were ſeen to be nothing more

more than boxes gilt and lettered at the backs, and filled with bank-aſſignats and rouleaux of imperials and ducats to an amazing amount.

It has already been obſerved, that the prince was harſh towards the officers; but was condeſcending towards the ſoldiers, among whom he had entirely deſtroyed all diſcipline: accordingly, he was beloved by them, and deteſted by the former. It is pretended, that this conduct had been concerted between the empreſs and him, in order to put diſcord between the officer and the ſoldier, eſpecially in the regiments of guards; both of them being aware, that revolutions are effected in Ruſſia by the ſoldiery, and conſequently that ſuch a ſpirit ſhould be kept up; that the officers might be ſacrificed at the firſt ſignal.

The moſt extraordinary projects of future aggrandiſement have been aſcribed to him: as that of taking advantage of the influence he had over the troops for excluding from the throne the grand duke and his ſons, on the death of the empreſs, and of cauſing the eldeſt of the grand ducheſſes to be crowned: it is added, that his deſign was to marry her, or at any rate to have reigned in her name. The fondneſs he always ſhewed to hold up and heighten whatever the young princeſs ſaid, to give it a conſequence with the empreſs, might have given birth to this

this (to ſay the leaſt of it) curious idea. Others pretend, that his intention was to become hoſpodár of Moldavia; and we ſhould be much diſpoſed to adopt this opinion, without, however, rejecting the others. Nobody doubted that he had formed ſome plans of this nature. Potemkin had gained the good-will of the nobility of the country; he careſſed them all, even down to the odnodvortzi; * and every thing led to believe that theſe nobles, flattered by the officiouſneſs

* Odnodvortzi (literally, owners of one habitation only, from odno, one, and dvor, a houſe) are a particular ſet of ruſſian peaſants. They were originally nobles; but, being reduced to poverty by various circumſtances, they were forced to till, with their own hands, what little ground they had remaining, for their maintenance. In proceſs of time people of different denominations, ſuch chiefly as filled inferior offices under government, came and ſettled amongſt them; and in the reign of Peter the great, when every nobleman was obliged to enliſt in the military ſervice, ſeveral of them, even thoſe of conſiderable property, choſe this condition of life; preferring rather to pay taxes to government along with theſe peaſants, than to go into the ſervice. Theſe peaſants have their own landed property, which they can diſpoſe of only to thoſe of their own condition. They pay all taxes impoſed by government; they have free liberty to traffic; to exerciſe any trade, art, or handicraft; and to employ themſelves in any purſuit agreeable to their own diſpoſitions and the laws of the country: but they cannot change their condition, nor remove from one diſtrict and ſettle in another, without having firſt obtained permiſſion from the government.

and obliging manners of a man who, in general, was not laviſh of his civilities, would have given him their voice. And it can as little be doubted that the empreſs would have ſupported his pretenſions, becauſe, on his death, ſhe would have gained Moldavia, as ſhe had already obtained the Krimea.

During this ſtay of four or five months, in 1791, at Peterſburg, he expended upwards of 1,200,000 rubles. But the entertainment he now gave at his Tavritſcheſkoï palace (ſince his death called the Pantheon) exceeded any thing of the ſort that we read of in the tales of our youth. Crowned with laurels, and wearied with conqueſts; he haſtened to the reſidence of his ſovereign, to enjoy his triumph in the ſun-ſhine of majeſty, and for a moment to forget, in the circle of pleaſures that awaited him, his bloody conflicts and the thouſands of ſlain. A dark preſentiment ſeemed hovering in his mind, that this would be the laſt moment he had to paſs in that magnificent theatre of his grandeur; and it was now his aim to enjoy that moment. He laid the plan of an entertainment which ſhould give him the opportunity to preſent a tribute of gratitude at the feet of the exalted authoreſs of his fortune in his own houſe, in the preſence of the whole aſſembled court. This, like all his other plans,

was

was extraordinary and great. A whole month was conſumed in preparations: artiſts of all kinds were employed; whole ſhops and warehouſes were emptied to ſupply the neceſſaries of the occaſion; ſeveral hundred perſons were daily aſſembled in making previous rehearſals for the final execution; and each of theſe days was of itſelf a grand ſpectacle. At length the moment arrived, which had kept the whole public of the reſidence on the utmoſt ſtretch of expectation by the great preparations that were making for it. Notice had been given, that the empreſs and the imperial family would honour this day by their preſence: the court, the foreign miniſters, the nobility, and a great part of the people of condition in the city were invited. The company began to aſſemble in maſquerade dreſſes at ſix in the evening. When the empreſs got into her carriage, on a ſignal being given, the treat for the populace was opened in the public place before the palace. High piles of clothes of all the various articles, lofty pyramids of eatables, and a competent ſupply of liquors, were here ſurrendered to the general ſcramble.

On her majeſty's entering the veſtibule * of the Tauridan palace, the loud muſic ſuddenly

* The deſcription of this palace, without which the account of the entertainment would be incomplete, is before given in this volume, p. 46.

ſtruck

ſtruck up from the lofty gallery, reſounding through the grand ſaloon and the ſpacious halls. The orcheſtra conſiſted of 600 performers; and inſtruments and voices produced their alternate effects. — In a few minutes afterwards, the empreſs advanced to the grand ſaloon, attended by the brilliant concourſe, and took her ſeat upon a gentle elevation, decorated with tranſparent repreſentations; the company divided among the colonnades and into the boxes; and now began the ſecond ſcene of this uncommon entertainment. Four-and-twenty couple of the moſt beautiful youths of both ſexes, of noble families, among whom were alſo the grand dukes Alexander and Conſtantine, opened the dances with a quadrille. All were dreſſed in white, and only diſtinguiſhable by the colours of their girdles and ſcarves. The value of their dreſſes was eſtimated at ten millions of rubles. The muſic to which they danced was accompanied with ſinging; and the famous Le Picque concluded the ſcene with a ſolo.

The company now proceeded to another hall, hung with tapeſtry of the richeſt and moſt coſtly kind. Here ſtood an artificial elephant, decorated with emeralds and rubies. The Perſian who conducted him ſtruck upon a bell; and this was the ſignal for another change.

A curtain

A curtain flew up as if by magic, and opened to view a magnificently decorated theatre, where two ballets and a dramatical piece afforded entertainment to the ſpectators with their extraordinary excellence. The moſt complete and charming muſic, interrupted by choirs of ſingers, numerous ſets of fine dancers, a prodigious diſplay of pomp, and the ſight of an exceeding great diverſity of national dreſſes in their moſt pleaſing coſtume, now delighted every ſenſe at once. When the play was over, the company divided into the ſeveral rooms of the palace. Whichever way the ſpectator turned his eye, the magnificent illumination ſtruck him with amazement. The walls and the columns all ſeemed to glow with various coloured fire: large mirrors, here and there judiciouſly fixed to the ſides of the apartments, or made to form pyramids and grottoes, multiplied the effect of this ſingular exhibition, and even made the whole incloſure from top to bottom, ſeem to be compoſed of ſparkling ſtones.

A table, ſuitable to the magnificence of the feſtivity, now waited for the company. Six hundred perſons ſat down to it; and the reſt were entertained at ſideboards. No other table furniture was ſeen upon the cloth, but gold and ſilver.

ſilver. Inſtead of the uſual candleſticks, the table was lighted by various-coloured vaſes in which lamps were inſerted. An aſtoniſhing number of ſervants and domeſtic officers, in ſuperb dreſſes, were employed in waiting on the gueſts; and in every place any thing was to be had at the very firſt nod. Nothing that the moſt ſtudied epicuriſm was able to procure could be aſked for in vain.

The empreſs on this day, certainly the firſt time for many years, made an exception to her general rule, by ſtaying till midnight, in order not to diſturb the pleaſure of the hoſt and his company. On her entering the veſtibule again, the choir of voices melodiouſly chanted a hymn to Catharine's praiſe. Her majeſty, ſurpriſed and affected, was turning round to the prince, when, overpowered with his emotions, he fell on his knee, and, ſeizing her hand, bedewed it with tears. Some gloomy forebodings ſeemed to ſhake his whole frame; and his countenance was expreſſive of the ſentiment, that this was the laſt time he ſhould ever, on that ſpot, ſtammer out his gratitude to his magnanimous patroneſs.

Latterly, his ſpirits being wearied with the eternal round of diſſipation and pleaſure in which he had ſo long been engaged, and having nothing

nothing to hope for, or in any way to give agitation to his mind, the prince often experienced a languor and depreſſion that made time a burthen to him. Being now in Peterſburg, towards the beginning of the long winter-evenings, he would ſit alone, order the table to be ſpread with a black velvet kept for the purpoſe; then, having his diamonds brought, he would continue for hours amuſing himſelf, like a child, in placing them one after another, in the forms of circles, croſſes, and fanciful figures, conſidering each before he placed it, and then admiring the ſituation of it or removing it to another. On one of theſe evenings the thought occurred to him to weigh his diamonds: they were found to amount to ſeveral pounds! the moſt remarkable were what compoſed an epaulette of brilliants to the value of eight hundred and fifty thouſand rubles; another of coloured ſtones of three hundred thouſand; perfect rubies, weighing from 35 to 36 carats, of ineſtimable value; the picture of the empreſs, pendant to yellow and black diamonds, in imitation of the ribbon of the order of St. George, &c. He frequently amuſed himſelf by pouring his diamonds out of one hand into the other, as children play with little ſhells or dried peas. He would ſometimes paſs a couple of hours in

biting his nails as he walked up and down his apartment, though there were a ſcore of perſons preſent. He has been juſtly accuſed of employing himſelf in frivolous matters; and the truth has even been exaggerated; but it is certain that he had grand and extenſive views, and that his death was a real loſs to the empreſs.

Prince Potemkin was in the ſecret of all the plans adopted by the empreſs, who regretted him the more, as he held the grand duke in awe. She loſt him at a time when ſhe repoſed no confidence in any one, and was too far advanced in life to think of training up another man to buſineſs, which demands the practice of a number of years. Potemkin directed all matters relative to the army; it is not to be thence inferred that all went on well, but all went on, and her majeſty required nothing more. There was often a want of proviſions, of forage, of every thing in his camp *. The hoſpitals might be conſidered as non-exiſtent; but all this paſſed at the diſtance of 1500 or 2000 verſts

* His houſe at Peterſburg exhibited the ſame diſorder, and ſeemed to be under the ſame ſort of management. It was no uncommon thing to paſs through a ſuite of apartments without finding a ſingle ſervant to take one's name: ſometimes not a bit of bread or a drop of water was to be had in the houſe; but there was always plenty of petit-pâtés and excellent champagne.

from

from the reſidence. The empreſs could not hear the complaints of all her ſubjects, and found it far eaſier to rely entirely on him, than to ſuppreſs abuſes, perhaps difficult of reform, from the number of people that profited by them.

The prince had a thorough knowledge of his country and his countrymen; he would therefore, as was ſaid before, put on a very different behaviour towards a young engliſh or french officer from what he would uſe to a ruſſian general; the former being ſeated beſide him, while the other was kept ſtanding, and did not venture over the ſill of the door: knowing that the Ruſſians, though ever ſo unſatisfied with this or ſimilar treatment, never expreſs their diſcontent againſt a ſuperior. It was from his own genius alone that he had ſeized the character of other nations; and it certainly ſhews a niceneſs of tact exceedingly rare, as he had never been out of Ruſſia. But the greateſt encomium that can be paſſed on the talents of prince Potemkin, is by ſaying, that, having ceaſed to be favourite, inſtead of falling, if not into diſgrace, at leaſt into neglect and oblivion, he was able to maintain himſelf for ſo many years, and even to his death, in the poſſeſſion of a power entirely abſolute; a power which was never balanced by

that of any of the favourites his ſucceſſors: he kept it complete and entire in a country ſo ſubject to ſudden revolutions, and (what is worthy of particular remark) with a ſovereign who cannot be accuſed of any defect of underſtanding and judgment, and of not reigning by herſelf. This, in the opinion of many, would alone be ſufficient to evince, that prince Potemkin was a man of no ordinary ſtamp; and even that he was very far from it. He is juſtly commendable for having always patroniſed his friends, and for never having ruined any one, though aſſuredly he had both the means and the opportunity in his power.

Some time in the year 1787, he took it into his head to have Plutarch read to him, to which he liſtened with great attention. When they were come to the life of Ageſilaus, and the account of his conqueſts, he interrupted his reader; and, after remaining thoughtful for ſome moments, he aſked him: "Think you, that I "could go, at ſome future period, to Con-"ſtantinople?" To which the reader replied: "If the ſovereign pleaſe, there is no impoſſi-"bility to prevent your going."—"That is "enough," returned the prince; "and if any "one ſhould come to-day, and tell me that I "could

"could not go thither, I would ſhoot myſelf "through the head." He had even meditated an attack upon China: preparations were actually made for taking poſſeſſion of the Amoor at Nertſhinſk, where the Ruſſians have their gold and ſilver mines; and the chief difficulty he had to encounter was the want of timber. Nothing but his death put a ſtop to this expedition. It was his firm opinion that a body of 10,000 Ruſſians could march through China.

It is certain that he found the means of detaching France from Turkey, and of bringing her to concur with Ruſſia, which certainly ſhews no ſmall degree of political dexterity, eſpecially as he had to do with ſo political a people as the French. The news of the french revolution quite afflicted him. He was ſeveral times afterwards ſurpriſed in talking to himſelf on that ſubject, in broken ſentences without connection, and with great geſticulation.

But we muſt now return to our hiſtory. After a ſtay of about five months at Peterſburg, prince Potemkin quitted the reſidence, to return to the army. Satiated with pomp and grandeur, with triumphs and with pleaſures, he was reſtleſs and uneaſy every where; and his frequent ſighs betrayed the gloom that overſpread his

mind*. He was ſatisfied neither with the flatteries of the courtiers, nor the bounties of his ſovereign, nor with himſelf: and his irritation ſeemed to increaſe at the preſence of the new favourite.

This favourite was Plato Zuboff. Objects more important have hitherto detained us from ſpeaking of him. It is neceſſary now to ſtate briefly the cauſes of his elevation, and the diſgrace of his predeceſſor.

Momonoff was well enough liked by the empreſs; but he made her no adequate returns. He lived with her in the manner of a ſlave, the weight of whoſe chains were not the leſs felt for being of gold, and not as a lover, pleaſed with pleaſing. His heart, however, was not inſenſible. Catharine, in the number of her maids of honour, had the daughter of prince Scherbatoff, a lady young, handſome, and ſprightly, and having withal a diſpoſition to gal-

* It is well known that prince Potemkin, on quitting Peterſburg, in 1791, had a ſecret preſentiment that he ſhould never return: he ſaid it over and over again. However, there was nothing marvellous in the matter. His manner of life, regular in no one reſpect, evidently tended to ſhorten his days: he was no more than 52 years of age; and his natural conſtitution ſeemed to warrant him a long courſe of life.

lantry.

lantry. Momonoff was ſoon ſmitten by her charms, and had made himſelf agreeable to her. But his paſſion had not as yet paſſed the bounds of reſpect; when one day he happened to hear Potemkin extol the charms of princeſs Scherbatoff. Momonoff was thunderſtruck. He knew the unlimited power of Potemkin: he knew that it was ſufficient for him to form a deſire for having it gratified: he therefore ran and threw himſelf on his knees to princeſs Scherbatoff, and imparted to her the cauſe of his uneaſineſs. For his comfort and encouragement ſhe promiſed to grant him what he was afraid of being deprived of by his rival; and ſhortly after he had additional reaſons for diſmiſſing his anxiety: Potemkin ſet out for the army.

This intimacy ſubſiſted a long time, and was known to all the court. Catharine alone perceived nothing of it. At length, however, by the jealouſy of ſome of the courtiers, her eyes were opened; ſhe was told that Momonoff had not ſurrendered to her the whole of his heart, of which ſhe ſoon after had evident proofs. However offended at this diſcovery, ſhe thought it beſt to connive at it, at leaſt for the preſent. This was during the ſummer of 1789. The court was at Tzarſko-ſelo; and the daughter of

count Bruce, one of the richeſt heireſſes of the empire, had juſt been preſented.

Catharine, laying hold of this opportunity, ſaid to Momonoff, that ſhe intended he ſhould marry the young counteſs * Bruce. Momonoff implored her not to inſiſt upon it. The empreſs deſired to know the reaſon of his reluctance. At this he was embarraſſed: ſhe inſiſted; and he fell at her feet, confeſſing that he had plighted his faith to princeſs Scherbatoff. The empreſs wanted no farther explanation: the two lovers were married the next day, and ſet off for Moſco.

Momonoff was bound by every tie of gratitude to Catharine for her bounties, and the extreme condeſcenſion ſhe had always ſhewn him. But it was currently reported that he had the imprudence to mention to his wife the particulars of his interviews with the empreſs, and that ſhe divulged them with a levity injurious to the ſovereign. It was added that that princeſs repaid the indiſcretion by an act of great ſeverity. When Momonoff and his lady were gone to reſt, the Maſter of the police at Moſco entered their apartment; and, after having ſhewn them an order from her majeſty, he left them in

* In Ruſſia and in all the North, the young ladies bear the ſame title with their parents.

the

the hands of ſix women, and retired to an adjoining chamber. Then the ſix women, or rather the ſix men dreſſed as women, ſeized the babbling lady, and having ſtripped her entirely of her night-clothes, exerciſed on her the diſcipline of flagellation with rods in the preſence of Momonoff, whom they forced to kneel down during the ceremony. When the chaſtiſement was over, the police maſter re-entered the room and ſaid: "This is the way the empreſs puniſhes "a firſt indiſcretion. For the ſecond, people "are ſent to Siberia."

The very day of the marriage of Momonoff, the poſt of favourite was conferred on Plato Zuboff, an officer in the horſe guards. Prince Potemkin heard with much concern that the choice of Catharine had fallen on Zuboff. He made it the ſubject of a letter to her majeſty, employing all ſorts of arguments to induce her to change her lover. But from the firſt period of his elevation Zuboff had rendered himſelf ſo agreeable that he was in no dread of a rival. The empreſs wrote to Potemkin, that ſo long as ſhe had no juſt reaſons to complain of Zuboff, ſhe ſhould not reſolve upon diſmiſſing him. Notwithſtanding this, Potemkin continued his importunities for ſome time.—"If you ſee the empreſs," ſaid he to one of the courtiers who carried his diſ-

patches

patches to court, "obſerve to her that I have "teeth which give me great pain, and that I ſhall "not be eaſy till I have got rid of them." It was a clumſy play upon words: Zuboff, in ruſs, ſignifies teeth.

The death of the emperor Joſeph II.* had left Catharine to contend with the Ottomans, reduced to her own forces alone. Leopold II, yielding to the ſollicitations of Pruſſia, and ſtill more to the exigencies of his people, who were ſinking under the preſſure of an unjuſt and unfortunate war, was in haſte to break off from Ruſſia, and to conclude a ſeparate piece with the porte.

It was no longer Frederic II. that reigned in Pruſſia. Five years had elapſed ſince he had terminated his long and brilliant courſe†. Endowed with a reſolute character and a flexile mind, he had improved them both by ſtudy and reflexion. The leſſons he had imbibed from hiſtory rendered him at once a profound politician and an able general; his intercourſe with the philoſophers and fine writers of every age and nation, had qualified him for taking a place among diſtinguiſhed authors. While he was only prince royal, he ſeemed to aſpire at the glory

* Joſeph II. died the 20th February 1790.

† Frederic II. died the 17th of Auguſt 1786.

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of the Antonines or a Marcus Aurelius: but no ſooner was he ſeated on the throne than he took for his models an Alexander and a Philip. Returning victorious from a war which had threatened his ruin, he extended the limits of his dominions, and from the ſecondary power which fell to him by inheritance, he raiſed himſelf into one of the moſt authoritative potentates of Europe. To the titles of politician and conqueror, which he had already acquired, he now added that of legiſlator; and, by the code which bears his name, he merited in many reſpects the gratitude of his ſubjects. Diſdainful of luxury from inclination, and fearful of it from œconomy, he founded his pride on the number of his ſoldiers. Laborious, vigilant, indefatigable, he was employed to the laſt moment of his life in the adminiſtration of his kingdom: but at the ſame time he ſhewed himſelf more jealous of ſtrengthening and ſecuring his power and of the proſperity of Pruſſia, than of the happineſs of the Pruſſians. Did he live happily himſelf? It may be anſwered, No; ſince he was neither huſband *, nor lover, nor father, and often ſuffered himſelf to be ruled by two tormenting paſſions, avarice and ambition. He was emulous

* It is well known, that, though he was married, he never cohabited with his wife.

of

of the ſurname of Great: he obtained it of the age in which he lived, and there is no doubt but it will be confirmed by poſterity.

But though Frederic II. was no more, the ſame ſpirit ſtill directed the cabinet of Berlin. Some time before Leopold made peace with the Turks, Frederic William had ſigned a treaty with them. Thus Catharine at once loſt a defender, and was expoſed to the probability of having ſoon a new enemy to contend with. That enemy however did not draw the ſword againſt her, at which ſhe was not the leſs incenſed. He took advantage of the diſcontents in Poland for gaining a conſiderable influence in that country, and leagued himſelf to it by a new treaty. Under pretence of defending the Poles he cauſed his troops to enter their territory; and, what perhaps occaſioned ſtill more heart-burning at the court of Ruſſia, he took poſſeſſion of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn.

The empreſs now began to ſee that her victories were ruinous, and that remote conqueſts might bring on the loſs of the provinces which ſhe poſſeſſed in Poland. In a word, ſhe perceived the neceſſity of bringing about a peace; but ſhe had too much pride to ſue for it, and rather than that, ſhe choſe to continue fighting.

Her

Her armies obtained ſtill farther ſucceſſes. Kutuſoff beat the combined troops of the Turks and Tartars: prince Repnin, at the head of 25,000 men, entirely routed 70,000 Ottomans whom he met and engaged not far from Makzin: Gudovitch, brother of him who had formerly been the favourite of Peter III. made himſelf maſter of the fortreſſes of Sudyuk-kaly and of Anapa, on the frontiers of the Krimea and the Kuban, where he took 14,000 priſoners, among whom was the ſheik Manſour, the pretended prophet of whom mention has been already made.

Great Britain, who, in order to revenge herſelf for the alliance concluded between France and Ruſſia, had excited the Turks to declare war againſt the latter power, and had vainly been prodigal of her aſſiſtance in arms, ammunition, and counſel; Great Britain reſolved to take advantage of the moment when the court of Peterſburg was detaching itſelf from the French, to engage it in a connection with her.

After having appriſed of her deſign the cabinets of Berlin and of the Hague, who had acted in concert with her from the beginning of the war, ſhe eagerly propoſed her mediation to the empreſs, on condition that in making peace, that princeſs ſhould conſent to give up her conqueſts,

conqueſts, and to take for the baſis of the new arrangements the treaty of Kaïnardgi *.

Still maintaining the ſame character of haughty independence, which ſhe had ſupported through the whole of the war, the empreſs, in the very laſt ſcene of it, ſeemed deſirous to mortify rather than conciliate the allied powers: ſuch at leaſt was her behaviour to the britiſh court. The cabinet of London had ſent to Peterſburg Mr. Fawkener, ſecretary to the privy-council, giving him in charge two propoſitions, whereof the moſt favourable to Ruſſia was not to be produced unleſs the other ſhould not be accepted. Fawkener was not wanting in abilities as a negotiator: but was by no means a match for Catharine. Whether that princeſs had been ſecretly advertiſed by her emiſſaries, that the britiſh agent had the power to make her a double propoſal, or whether it was only matter of ſurmiſe, ſhe reſolved to avail herſelf of it. Determined on concluding a peace with the Turks, whatever it ſhould coſt her, in order that her armies might fall back into Poland, ſhe received Mr. Fawkener with extreme affability. She ad-

* It was what the three allied courts called in diplomatic terms, the *ſtatus quo*.

mitted

mitted him to her table at Tzarſko-ſelo, placed him over againſt her, diſcourſed with him all dinner-time, and after riſing from table talked with him again, artfully by turns giving him reaſon to apprehend the failure of his negotiation, and inſpiring him with the hopes of its ſucceſs; ſhe at length ſo completely entangled him, that he had not the courage to propoſe any other than the moſt advantageous conditions.

About the ſame time with the arrival of that gentleman, a traveller*, who happened to be connected both by conſanguinity and friendſhip with the illuſtrious leader of the oppoſition-party in the houſe of commons, appeared at the court of St. Peterſburg. Whatever was the object of his viſit, whether to collect for his friend more accurate information, ſuch as a ſtateſman ought to uſe all due means of obtaining on ſo great a political queſtion as that relating to the equipoiſe of the european powers, or purpoſes of mere curioſity concerning the court of a princeſs who made ſuch a figure in the affairs of the world, his preſence there was made by the empreſs an occaſion of ſhewing a marked ſlight to the agent of the britiſh miniſtry. Whenever ſhe ſpoke to the latter at

* Mr. Adair.

court,

court, ſhe always took care at the ſame time to place the former at her right hand, in the place of honour; and on the arrangement of the peace, the preſents ſhe conferred were preciſely of the ſame kind to both, but of greater value, and more in number, to the friend and relation of Mr. Fox, whom, as an orator and a ſtateſman, ſhe had always admired.

Catharine, being thus made acquainted with the diſpoſitions of England, cauſed a memorial to be delivered to the daniſh miniſter, to prevail upon him to negotiate the preliminaries of peace with the cabinets of Berlin, of London, and of the Hague.

Count Bernſtorff was in all reſpects worthy of being truſted with the mediation of ſo important a cauſe, and eagerly informed the three allied courts of the intention of Catharine; in conſequence of which an accommodation between thoſe powers and Ruſſia was preſently agreed on.

In purſuance of this accommodation, the three allied courts agreed to propoſe to the porte the terms offered by the empreſs, and declared, that if the Turks would not accept of theſe conditions, they would abandon their cauſe, and leave them to proſecute alone the war againſt Ruſſia.

A congreſs was aſſembled at Shiſtove; where the negotiators found at firſt ſome difficulty

in coming to an agreement. Hence they removed to Galatch, and the preliminaries of peace were at length ſigned, the 9th of January 1791, by prince Repnin and the grand vizir. The definitive treaty, concluded at Yaſſy, ſoon after followed *.

1792. It has been calculated that in this war Auſtria loſt 130,000 ſoldiers, and expended three hundred millions of florins.—Ruſſia loſt 200,000 men, and expended two hundred millions of rubles.—The Turks loſt 330,000 men, and expended two hundred and fifty millions of piaſtres.

Sweden had expended ſeventy millions of rix-dollars, and loſt nine ſhips of the line, four frigates, and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels of war.

After ſigning the treaty, Bezborodko declared that the empreſs gave up her claim to the twelve millions of piaſtres which the porte had juſt ſtipulated to pay her as an indemnity for the expences of the war. The ottoman plenipotentiaries juſtly teſtified their admiration of an act of generoſity ſo truly imperial.

It muſt not here be forgotten, that, while the formidable armament was fitting out by the court of London for the Baltic to force the

* See the Appendix at the end of the volume.

empreſs into a peace with the Turks, prince Naſſau Siegen, then in high favour with her majeſty, preſented to her a project of marching an army through Bokhara to Kaſhmir, and thence to Bengal, to drive the Engliſh out of India. He pretended not however to be the author of it, having received it of a Frenchman named de St. Genie, by whom it was conceived and drawn up. This man propoſed that the empreſs ſhould publiſh a manifeſto, declaring that ſhe ſent the army for the purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing the mogul on the throne of India, as a blind to the real object ſhe had in view. De St. Genie aſſured her that few or no difficulties were to be apprehended in paſſing through Bokhara; but rather that as the oſtenſible deſign was to reſtore to the throne of India a prince of their own religion, they would be friendly to the enterpriſe: but, at any rate, nothing was to be dreaded from a people ſo diſunited among themſelves, and who ſtand in awe of the Ruſſians; adding, that ſhe might lay her account in being joined in the north of India by the diſcontented from all parts.

As a farther inducement to this undertaking de St. Genie affirmed, that there were known to be paſſes through the mountains, and that he

he could refer to perſons who had been ſent into the country by M. de Vergennes; at the ſame time he accompanied his project with a map accurately laid down of the ſeveral ſtations for the march of the army.

Catharine teſtified her approbation of the plan: but it was treated with deriſion by prince Potemkin. Had the menaces of the britiſh miniſter been proſecuted to open hoſtilities, from the temper ſhe was in at that time with regard to his procedures, there is no ſaying what the empreſs would have left untried, if not brought to effect. However, for the preſent ſhe contented herſelf with ſaying: "C'eſt un "miniſtre de preparatifs qui ne vient à bout "de rien."

Prince Potemkin had not the good fortune to conclude the peace between Ruſſia and the porte. He had repaired to the congreſs of Yaſſy: but, being ſoon after attacked with an epidemical fever which was then rife at that place, he was unable to attend much to the negotiations that were carrying on. As ſoon as the empreſs had intelligence that he was ſick, ſhe ſent off to him two of the moſt experienced phyſicians of Peterſburg*. He diſdained their

* The doctors Timmann and Maſſot.

advice, and would follow no regimen. He carried even his intemperance to an uncommon height, his ordinary breakfaſt was the greater part of a ſmoke-dried gooſe from Hamburgh, ſlices of hung-beef or ham, drinking with it a prodigious quantity of wine and Dantzic-liqueurs, and afterwards dined with equal voracity. He never controlled his appetites in any kind of gratification. He frequently had his favourite ſterlet-ſoup, at ſeaſons when that fiſh is ſo enormouſly dear, that this ſoup alone, which might be conſidered only as the overture to his dinner, ſtood him in 300 rubles. Having mentioned his ſterlet-ſoup, it is impoſſible to refrain from relating an anecdote on that ſubject here. Being at Yaſſy, the prince had promiſed ſome of the women that went about with him every where, and formed his court, a ſoup of this kind, or perhaps, in one of thoſe whims which were ſo common with him, he had a mind to it himſelf; but as the capital maker of it was at Peterſburg, he diſpatched a major to travel poſt, with orders to have a large turreen of it made: which he did accordingly, and brought it with him, well luted. Now let the reader judge of the expence this fancy put him to: the cook, as we may imagine, made a greater quantity of it than was

was wanted for the prince, and ate the remainder with his friends *; nay, we may be very ſure that he ate it better than the prince, to whom it muſt have come ſomewhat leſs freſh, after having travelled near 2000 verſts. This anecdote may likewiſe ſerve as a ſpecimen of the buſineſs in which majors were ſometimes employed by him, and conſequently of the conſideration in which they muſt have been held. He has frequently ſent his officers from the Krimea or from Krementſchuk to Peterſburg, and even to Riga, for oyſters or china-oranges, on their firſt arrival at thoſe ports.

With this ſort of diet it is no wonder that he perceived his diſtemper to be daily gaining ground, but he thought to get well by removing from Yaſſy. Accordingly he reſolved to ſet out for Nicolayef, a town which he had built at the confluence of the Ingul with the Bogue. Scarcely had he gone three leagues of his journey when he found himſelf much worſe. He alighted from his carriage in the midſt of the highway, threw himſelf on the graſs, and died † under a tree,

* It was by one of thoſe friends that the ſtory got abroad.

† Prince Potemkin died the 15th of October 1791, at the age of 52. From Yaſſy his remains were tranſported to Kerſon, where they were inhumed, and the empreſs allotted a hundred thouſand rubles for the erection of a mauſoleum

a tree, in the arms of the counteſs Branicka, his favourite niece.

At firſt a report was ſpread, as uſual on the death of men of extraordinary character, that the prince had been poiſoned. His body, on being brought to Yaſſy, was therefore opened, but not the ſmalleſt indication was diſcoverable that might juſtify ſuch a ſuſpicion.

As to what farther might be ſaid of prince Potemkin, we ſhall add nothing of ourſelves; but be content with inſerting here the picture drawn of him by one * who lived a long time in

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over them.—Having often had occaſion to ſpeak of the dignities and the titles of this extraordinary perſonage, we inſert an abridgment of them here: Knight of the principal orders of Pruſſia, of Sweden, of Poland, and of all the orders of Ruſſia; field-marſhal, commander in chief of all the armies of Ruſſia; chief general of the cavalry; grand admiral of the fleets of the Euxine, of the ſea of Azof, and of the Caſpian; ſenator, and preſident of the college of war; governor-general of Ekatarinoſlaf and of Taurida; adjutant-general and actual chamberlain to the empreſs; inſpector-general of the armies; colonel of the preobajenſky guards; chief of the corps of horſe guards; colonel of the regiment of cuiraſſiers of his name, of the dragoons of Peterſburg, and the grenadiers of Ekatarinoſlaf; chief of all the manufactories of arms and the founderies of cannon; grand hetman of the kozaks, &c.

* M. L. P. Ségur, formerly ambaſſador at Peterſburg, not leſs diſtinguiſhed for his literary than his political talents. Le comte

in habits of intimacy with him, and was ſo obliging as to delineate it at our ſollicitation.

"Prince Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin was one of the moſt extraordinary men of his times; but in order to have played ſo conſpicuous a part, he muſt have been in Ruſſia, and have lived in the reign of Catharine II. In any other country, in any other times, with any other ſovereign, he would have been miſplaced; and it was a ſingular ſtroke of chance that created this man for the period that tallied with him, and brought together and combined all the circumſtances with which he could tally.

"In his perſon were collected the moſt oppoſite defects and advantages of every kind. He was avaricious and oſtentatious, deſpotic and popular, inflexible and beneficent, haughty and obliging, politic and confiding, licentious and ſuperſtitious,

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Le comte de Ségur wrote under the empreſs's picture, juſt after her return from the Krim, the following lines:

Reconnois vers le nord l'aimant qui nous attire,
Cet heureux conquérant, profond legiſlateur,
Femme aimable, grand homme, & que l'envie admire,
Qui parcourt ſes états, y verſe le bonheur.
Maître en l'art de regner, ſavante en l'art d'écrire,
Répandant la lumière, écartant les erreurs;
Si le ſort n'avoit pu lui donner un empire,
Elle auroit eu toujours un trône dans nos cœurs.

bold and timid, ambitious and indiſcreet. Laviſh of his bounties to his relations, his miſtreſſes, and his favourites, yet frequently paying neither his houſehold nor his creditors. His conſequence always depended on a woman, and he was always unfaithful to her. Nothing could equal the activity of his mind, nor the indolence of his body. No dangers could appal his courage; no difficulties force him to abandon his projects. But the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe always brought on diſguſt.

" He wearied the empire by the number of his poſts and the extent of his power. He was himſelf fatigued with the burden of his exiſtence; envious of all that he did not do, and ſick of all that he did. Reſt was not grateful to him, nor occupation pleaſing. Every thing with him was deſultory; buſineſs, pleaſure, temper, carriage. In every company he had an embarraſſed air, and his preſence was a reſtraint on every company. He was moroſe to all that ſtood in awe of him, and careſſed all ſuch as accoſted him with familiarity.

" Ever promiſing, ſeldom keeping his word, and never forgetting any thing. None had read leſs than he; few people were better informed. He had talked with the ſkilful in all profeſſions, in all the ſciences, in every art. None better knew how

how to draw forth and appropriate to himſelf the knowledge of others. In converſation he would have aſtoniſhed a ſcholar, an artiſt, an artiſan, and a divine. His information was not deep, but it was very extenſive. He never dived into a ſubject, but he ſpoke well on all ſubjects.

"The inequality of his temper was productive of an inconceivable oddity in his deſires, in his conduct, and in his manner of life. One while he formed the project of becoming duke of Courland; at another he thought of beſtowing on himſelf the crown of Poland. He frequently gave intimations of an intention to make himſelf a biſhop or even a ſimple monk. He built a ſuperb palace, and wanted to ſell it before it was finiſhed. One day he would dream of nothing but war; and only officers, Tartars, and kozaks were admitted to him: the next day he was buſied only with politics; he would partition the ottoman empire, and put in agitation all the cabinets of Europe. At other times, with nothing in his head but the court, dreſſed in a magnificent ſuit, covered with ribbons preſented him by every potentate, diſplaying diamonds of extraordinary magnitude and brilliance, he was giving ſuperb entertainments without any cauſe.

"He was ſometimes known for a month, and in the face of all the town, to paſs whole even-

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ings at the apartments of a young female, ſeeming to have alike forgot all buſineſs and all decorum. Sometimes alſo, for ſeveral weeks ſucceſſively, ſhut up in his room with his nieces and ſeveral men of his intimates, he would lounge on a ſofa, without ſpeaking, playing at chefs, or at cards, with his legs bare, his ſhirt collar unbuttoned, in a morning gown, with a thoughtful front, his eyebrows knit, and preſenting to the view of ſtrangers who came to ſee him, the figure of a rough and ſqualid kozak.

" All theſe ſingularities often put the empreſs out of humour, but rendered him more intereſting to her. In his youth he had pleaſed her by the ardour of his paſſion, by his valour, and by his maſculine beauty. Being arrived at maturity he charmed her ſtill by flattering her pride, by calming her apprehenſions, by confirming her power, by careſſing her fancies of oriental empire, the expulſion of the barbarians, and the reſtoration of the grecian republics.

" At eighteen, an under-officer in the horſeguards, he perſuaded, on the day of the revolution, his corps to take arms, and preſented to Catharine his cockade as an ornament for her ſword. Soon after, become the rival of Orloff, he performed, for his ſovereign, whatever the moſt romantic paſſion could inſpire. He put out

out his eye to free it from a blemiſh which diminiſhed his beauty. Baniſhed by his rival, he ran to meet death in battle, and returned with glory. A ſucceſsful lover, he quickly ſhook off the hypocritical farce, whoſe cataſtrophe held out to him the proſpect of an obſcure diſaſter. He himſelf gave favourites to his miſtreſs, and became her confidant, her friend, her general, and her miniſter.

" Panin was preſident of the council, and was a ſtickler for the alliance of Pruſſia. Potemkin perſuaded his miſtreſs, that the friendſhip of the emperor would be of more uſe to her in realiſing her plans againſt the Turks. He connected her with Joſeph II. and thereby furniſhed himſelf with the means of conquering the Krimea and the country of the Nogay Tartars, which depended upon it. Reſtoring to theſe regions their ſonorous and antient names, creating a maritime force at Kerſon and Sevaſtopol, he perſuaded Catharine to come and admire herſelf this new ſcene of his glory. Nothing was ſpared for rendering this journey renowned to the lateſt poſterity. Thither were conveyed, from all parts of the empire, money, proviſions, and horſes. The highways were illuminated. The Boryſthenes was covered with magnificent gallies. A hundred and fifty thouſand

ſand ſoldiers were newly equipped. The kozaks were brought together: the Tartars were diſciplined. Deſerts were peopled for the occaſion; and palaces were raiſed in the trackleſs wild. The nakedneſs of the plains of the Krimea was diſguiſed by villages built on purpoſe, and enlivened by fireworks. Chains of mountains were illuminated. Fine roads were opened by the army. Howling wilderneſſes were transformed into engliſh gardens. The king of Poland came to pay homage to her who had crowned him, and who afterwards ſtruck him from the throne. The emperor Joſeph II. came himſelf to attend the triumphal progreſs of the empreſs Catharine; and the reſult of this brilliant journey was another war, which the Engliſh and the Pruſſians impolitically inſtigated the Turks to undertake, and which was only a freſh inſtrument to the ambition of Potemkin, by affording him an occaſion to conquer Otchakof, which remained to Ruſſia, and to obtain the grand ribbon of St. George, the only decoration that was wanting to his vanity. But theſe latter triumphs were the term of his life. He died in Moldavia, almoſt by a ſudden ſtroke; and his death, lamented by his nieces and by a ſmall number of friends, concerned only his rivals, who were eager to divide

his ſpoils, and was very ſoon followed by a total oblivion.

" Like the rapid paſſage of thoſe ſhining meteors which aſtoniſh us by their luſtre, but are empty as air, Potemkin began every thing, completed nothing, diſordered the finances, diſorganized the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with other deſerts. The fame of the empreſs was increaſed by his conqueſts. The admiration they excited was for her; and the hatred they raiſed, for her miniſter. Poſterity, more equitable, will perhaps divide between them both the glory of the ſucceſſes and the ſeverity of the reproaches. It will not beſtow on Potemkin the title of a great man; but it will mention him as an extraordinary perſon; and, to draw his picture with accuracy, he might be repreſented as a real emblem, as the living image of the ruſſian empire.

" For, in fact, he was coloſſal like Ruſſia. In his mind, as in that country, were cultivated diſtricts and deſert plains. It alſo partook of the aſiatic, of the european, of the tartarian, and the kozak; the rudeneſs of the eleventh century, and the corruption of the eighteenth; the ſurface of the arts, and the ignorance of the cloiſters; an outſide of civilization, and many traces

traces of barbariſm. In a word, if we might hazard ſo bold a metaphor, even his two eyes, the one open and the other cloſed, reminded us of the Euxine always open, and the northern ocean, ſo long ſhut up with ice.

"This portrait may appear gigantic: but thoſe who knew Potemkin will bear witneſs to its truth. That man had great defects: but without them, perhaps, he would neither have got the maſtery of his ſovereign, nor that of his country. He was made by chance preciſely ſuch as he ought to be for preſerving ſo long his power over ſo extraordinary a woman."

CHAP. XV.

State of the court of Peterſburg at the death of prince Potemkin.—Inſurrection of Koſciuſko.——Laſt partition of Poland.—Aſſaſſination of Guſtavus III.—Death of Leopold II.—French emigrants in Ruſſia.—Of Plato Zuboff and his brothers.—Treaty concluded with Great Britain.—Conſpiracy of Armfeldt.—Journey of Guſtavus Adolphus to St. Peterſburg.—Conqueſts in Perſia.—Death of Catharine II.—Statement of the preſents that were received by her favourites.—Forces, expenditure, and revenues of Ruſſia.—1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796.

THE empreſs, when death had raviſhed Lanſkoï from her, ſhut herſelf up in her apartment, and, giving way to her grief, was ſo indifferent to the world, that ſhe was diſpoſed to let herſelf die by inanition. On hearing of the death of Potemkin, ſhe likewiſe ſhut herſelf up; but it was only for employing herſelf in the adminiſtration of the empire. She was buſy for fifteen hours together, and divided among her miniſters the direction of the affairs which had belonged to Potemkin.

Count Bezborodko was ſent to the congreſs at Yaſſy, and concluded the peace, as related in the

the foregoing chapter; and at his return, being at the head of the college of foreign affairs, he at firſt poſſeſſed a very extenſive influence.

The favourite, Plato Zuboff, who till now had been an utter ſtranger to buſineſs, was deſirous of bearing a part in the miniſtry, and of taking on himſelf the direction. On this ſubject he aſked advice of the intriguing Markoff, who ſoon became his flatterer, and readily undertook to be his guide in the career of politics. Markoff was recompenſed for it by the entire confidence of the favourite and that of the ſovereign. They formed their conciliabulum, in which they treated of the moſt important affairs, and from which they excluded Bezborodko; who, without being preciſely diſgraced, loſt conſiderably of his influence *.

It was in one of theſe conciliabula, compoſed of Zuboff, Markoff, the miniſter at war Nicolaï Soltikoff, and ſome others, that the annihilation of Poland, long ſince propoſed by Catharine, was reſolved on. That princeſs wiſhed for it as an offering to her pride and her vengeance. Her favourites and her greedy miniſters had

* Till Zuboff, the favourites had never been publicly employed in ſtate affairs; and it is the general opinion that it would have been more advantageous for thoſe affairs, if they had been made to wait for his ſucceſſor.

been

been promoting it with great aſſiduity, in the hopes of obtaining a ſhare in the rich ſpoils of the unhappy Poles.

The empreſs could never forgive that nation for either the act of the diet in 1788 *, or the alliance of Pruſſia accepted in contempt of her own, or, above all, the conſtitution of 1791 †. Big with theſe ideas of revenge, ſhe gave orders to Bulgakoff, her miniſter at Warſaw, ſolemnly to declare war againſt Poland.

The diet being aſſembled, received this declaration with a majeſtic calmneſs, which was rapidly ſucceeded by the generous enthuſiaſm excited by the ardour of ſelf-defence. The ſentiments of the diet were diffuſed over all the nation. The king himſelf was poſſeſſed by them, or rather pretended to be ſo; and the Poles had the weakneſs to believe, that, having abandoned his former ſervility to Ruſſia, and his cuſtomary indolence, he was becoming the defender of liberty. An army was collected in haſte, and the command of it given to prince Joſeph Poniatofſky, whoſe inexperience and frivolous purſuits were but ill ſuited to the management of ſo weighty a charge.

* Which abrogated the conſtitution dictated by violence in 1775.

† Decreed at Warſaw the 3d of May.

The Poles could have oppoſed the deſigns of Catharine with an army of 50,000 men: but they never yet could be brought to unite their forces; and their different corps were ſoon after preſſed between an army of 80,000 Ruſſians, who fell back from Beſſarabia upon the territory which extends along the Bogue, another of 10,000 collected in the environs of Kief, and a third of 30,000, which had penetrated into Lithuania.

We ſhall not here attempt to draw the picture of the various battles that drenched the plains of Poland with blood, and which, notwithſtanding ſome advantages obtained by the Poles, conſumed the greater part of their troops. It was then that Thaddeus Koſciuſko *, who as yet was nothing more than one of the lieutenants of young Joſeph Poniatofsky, diſplayed talents that juſtly obtained him the confidence of the nation, the hatred of the Ruſſians, and the eſteem of Europe.

During all this time, Catharine, not truſting alone to the power of her own arms, had been negotiating with unremitted aſſiduity. She propoſed the definitive partition of Poland to Frederic William, who was undoubtedly no leſs deſirous of it than herſelf. She ſecretly won over to her

* We have been told by a poliſh gentleman, that this name ſhould be written Koſchiefsky.

views the two brothers Kaſſakoffsky, the hetman Branicky, Rejevuſky, and particularly Felix Potocky *, who perhaps, while he was flattering himſelf with the hopes of mounting the throne of Poland, became only the ſlave of Ruſſia. In a word, ſhe inſiſted that Staniſlaus Auguſtus ſhould make a public declaration, that it was neceſſary to yield to the ſuperiority of the ruſſian arms.

That monarch had the deplorable courage to ſubmit himſelf to this indignity: but he was not on that account treated by the empreſs with greater indulgence †.

1793.

* He put himſelf at the head of the confederation of Targoviſka in favour of the Ruſſians.

† Staniſlaus Auguſtus departed this life at St. Peterſburg, whither he had been invited by the emperor Paul, and where he lived in a ſort of regal ſtate in the magnificent marble palace on the quay of the Neva. A letter from Peterſburg, of the 20th of February 1798, acquaints us with the following circumſtances attending his death: he had for ſeveral days complained of a headach; but in conſequence of the uſe of medicine, on the 11th he found himſelf much better and went to the window, to obſerve the degree of cold indicated by the thermometer, when he felt himſelf ſuddenly ſeized with a violent pain in the head, and great feebleneſs and illneſs.

His phyſician in waiting, privy-counſellor Bockler, and his chaplain Yurevitch, haſtened to his aſſiſtance. He was

1793. The confederation of the partiſans of Ruſſia aſſembled at Grodno, and had the humiliation to ſee the ruſſian general proudly ſeating himſelf under the canopy of the throne which he was about to overturn. The ruſſian miniſter, at the ſame time, publiſhed * a manifeſto, in which he declared that his ſovereign would incorporate with her domains all the territory of Poland which her arms had conquered. The king of Pruſſia, in concert with Catharine, had already marched an army into Poland.

The Ruſſians, diſperſed about the provinces of that kingdom, committed depredations and ravages of which hiſtory furniſhes but few examples. Warſaw became likewiſe the theatre of their exceſſes. The ruſſian general Igelſtrom, who governed all that city, connived at the

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conveyed to bed; and recourſe was had to bleeding and bliſters; but in vain. He requeſted his chaplain to give him abſolution, and wiſhed to repeat with him the penitential pſalms; but his ſpeech ſoon failed. His majeſty then received the general abſolution and the ſacrament of extreme unction.

About midnight he appeared ſomewhat better; but, as the morning approached, grew continually weaker, till about eight in the morning of the 12th of February, when he breathed his laſt.

* The 9th of April.—This miniſter was called Sievers.

diſorders

diſorders of his ſoldiers, and made the wretched inhabitants feel the whole weight of his arrogance and barbarity. The defenders of Poland had been obliged to diſperſe *. Their property was confiſcated; their families reduced to ſervitude. Goaded by ſo many calamities, they once more took the reſolution to free their country from the oppreſſion of the Ruſſians. Some of them aſſembled, and ſent an invitation to Koſciuſko to come and put himſelf at their head.

That general had retired to Leipſic, with Hugh Kolontay, Zajonchek, and Ignatius Potocky, a man of great knowledge and ſagacity, a ſincere friend to his country, and in all reſpects the oppoſite to his couſin Felix. Theſe four Poles heſitated not a moment in giving their approbation to the reſolution adopted by their honeſt countrymen: but they were ſenſible that, in order to ſucceed, they muſt begin by giving liberty to the peaſants, who till then had been treated in Poland like beaſts of burthen.

Koſciuſko and Zajonchek repaired, with all expedition, to the frontiers of Poland. The latter proceeded to Warſaw, where he had conferences with the chiefs of the conſpirators. A

* Some of them were even arreſted; and Bonneau, the french ſecretary of legation, was carried off and conducted to Siberia.

banker, named Kapuſtas, a bold and artful man, made himſelf reſponſible for the inhabitants of the capital. He ſaw likewiſe ſeveral officers, who declared their deteſtation of the ruſſian yoke. All, in ſhort, was ripe for an inſurrection, when the ruſſian commanders, to whom Koſciuſko's preſence on the frontiers had given umbrage, forced him to poſtpone it for a time.

To deceive the diſtruſt of the Ruſſians, Koſciuſko went into Italy, and Zajonchek repaired to Dreſden, whither Ignatius Potocky and Kolonty had retired, but all at once Zajonchek appeared again at Warſaw. The king himſelf impeached him to the ruſſian general Igelſtrom, who had a conference with him, and ordered him to quit the poliſh territory. No alternative now remained for him but to proceed immediately to action, or to abandon the enterpriſe altogether. Zajonchek reſolved on the former.

1794. Koſciuſko was recalled from Italy, and arrived at Cracow, where the Poles received him as their deliverer. In ſpite of the orders of the Ruſſians, colonel Madalinſky pertinaciouſly refuſed to licenſe his regiment. Some other officers had joined him. Koſciuſko was proclaimed general of this little army *; and the act of inſurrection was almoſt immediately publiſhed †.

* They had 3000 infantry and 1200 horſe.

† The 24th of March.

Three

Three hundred peaſants, armed with ſcythes, came and ranged themſelves under the ſtandard of Koſciuſko. That general ſoon found himſelf faced by 7000 Ruſſians, who were put to flight after a vigorous reſiſtance.

On hearing at Warſaw of the ſucceſs of Koſciuſko, the ruſſian general Igelſtrom cauſed all thoſe to be arreſted whom he ſuſpected to have any concern in the inſurrection: but theſe meaſures ſerved only the more to irritate the conſpirators. The rebellion broke out *. Two thouſand Ruſſians were put to the ſword. Their general, being beſieged in his houſe, requeſted permiſſion to capitulate; and, profiting by the delay that was granted him, he eſcaped to the pruſſian camp, which lay at a little diſtance from Warſaw.

Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, followed the example of Warſaw: but the triumph of the inſurgents was there leſs terrible. Colonel Yazinſky, who was at their head, conducted himſelf with ſo much ſkill, that he took all the Ruſſians priſoners, without ſhedding a drop of blood. The inhabitants of the cantons of Chelm and of Lublin declared themſelves alſo in a ſtate of inſurrection, and were imitated by three poliſh regiments, who were employed in the ſervice of the Ruſſians.

* The 18th of April.

Some of the principal partiſans of Ruſſia, the hetman Kaſſokofsky, the biſhop his brother, Zabiello, Ozarofsky, and Ankvitch, were ſentenced to be hanged, the firſt at Vilna, and the others at Warſaw.

Koſciuſko exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to augment his army. He got recruits among the peaſants; and, to inſpire them with more emulation, he wore their dreſs, ate with them, and diſtributed encouragements among them; but thoſe men too long degraded in Poland, were not yet deſerving of the liberty that was offered them. They diſtruſted the intentions of the nobles, who, on their ſide, for the moſt part lamented the loſs of their abſurd prerogatives.

Staniſlaus Auguſtus and his partiſans augmented ſtill further the ill-will of the nobles, by repreſenting to them the intentions of Koſciuſko as diſaſtrous to them, and by caballing continually in favour of Ruſſia.

In the mean time the empreſs, not ſatisfied with augmenting the number of her troops in Poland, had ſent her beſt generals thither.

After ſeveral battles, in one of which Frederic William, who had advanced to ſupport the Ruſſians, fought at the head of his troops, againſt Koſciuſko, who was ſtriving to prevent the junction of the ruſſian generals, Suvaroff and Ferſen,

Ferſen, he was attacked by the latter at Macieyovitch *. His talents, his valour, his deſperation, were unable to prevent the Poles from yielding to numbers. Almoſt the whole of his army were either cut to pieces or obliged to lay down their arms. Himſelf being covered with wounds, fell ſenſeleſs on the field of battle, and was taken priſoner.

All who were able to eſcape from the conquerors went and ſhut themſelves up in the ſuburbs of Prague †, whither they were purſued by general Suvaroff. The ſiege of Prague continued not long. On the morrow of his arrival ‡, the dauntleſs Suvaroff gave the aſſault; and, having made himſelf maſter of the ſuburb, put to the ſword, not only the ſoldiers, but all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Twenty thouſand innocent perſons fell victims to the fury of the ruſſian general. Covered with the blood of theſe unfortunate people, the barbarian entered Warſaw in triumph. Some bands of inſurgents, who were diſperſed in the provinces, made all poſſible haſte to ſurrender. The courts of Peterſburg and Berlin divided at

* The 4th of October.

† It is a ſuburb of Warſaw, or rather a ſmall town ſituate on one ſide of that capital.

‡ The 2d of November.

their pleaſure the remainder of unhappy Poland; and the cruel courtiers of the empreſs ſhared amongſt them the poſſeſſions of a great number of the proſcribed. Staniſlaus Auguſtus was ſent to Grodno, where he was condemned to live obſcurely on a penſion that was granted him by the empreſs; while Repnin, appointed governor of the uſurped provinces, oſtentatiouſly diſplayed the pomp of a ſovereign.

Zajonchek and Kolontay had eſcaped to the auſtrian territory, where the rights of hoſpitality were violated in their perſons, and they were detained in captivity. Koſciuſko, Ignatius Potocky, Kapuſtas, and ſome others, were tranſported to Peterſburg, and ſhut up in dungeons. Among theſe unfortunate men was the young poet Niemchevitch, diſtinguiſhed for his valour and his talents, the friend of Koſciuſko, wounded and made priſoner with him. The blood he had loſt for his country was not the only injury with which Catharine reproached Niemchevitch. He had compoſed verſes againſt her *, in all the boldneſs and energy of ſatire. Her majeſty had him at firſt confined in the citadel of Peterſburg, and afterwards ſent him to Schluſſelburg, where he was treated with great ſeverity.

* There appeared at Warſaw, not only pieces in verſe and proſe, but caricature prints, in which the empreſs was very much inſulted.

The

The account of the bloody revolution effected by the brave Koſciuſko has obliged us to defer the recital of ſeveral events: we ſhall here bring them under review.

Impatient to ſee Guſtavus III. ſet out upon his chivalereſque and perilous enterpriſe, Catharine gave orders to count Stackelberg, her miniſter at Stockholm, to promiſe * that monarch 12,000 ruſſian ſoldiers, and an annual ſubſidy of 300,000 rubles, to aſſiſt him in reſtoring to the king of France his entire authority. Certainly it was not the intention of the empreſs to keep this promiſe, which ſhe always found means to elude. She wanted only to accelerate the moment of the confederation of kings, and to excite her rivals to mutual deſtruction.

But Guſtavus had not time to go and conſummate the ruin of his country on the frontiers of France. The nobles of Sweden were for the moſt part always diſcontented with the revolution of 1772, of which they gave a proof in refuſing to fight at Frederikſham. By pardoning their defection, Guſtavus only emboldened them, and ſerved the Ruſſians who were exciting them perpetually againſt him. Three young men † at

* In the month of October 1791.

† The count von Horn, Ribbing, and Ankarſtroem.

this

this time reſolved to put him to death, and drew lots for the infamous honour of making the firſt attack on his perſon. A maſquerade, at which Guſtavus was to be preſent, was in favour of their horrid purpoſe. Here the three conſpirators met. Ankarſtroem ſeized the moment when a groupe of maſks ſurrounded Guſtavus, and fired a piſtol * into the ſmall of his back. The ſwediſh monarch expired within a few days after †. His ſon, Guſtavus Adolphus, a young prince, aged fourteen years, ſucceeded to the crown; and the regency was given to the duke of Sudermania.

A ſhort time previous to this, the emperor Leopold II. died at Vienna ‡, in a manner leſs ſhocking, but almoſt as ſudden, leaving the imperial diadem, the archduchy of Auſtria, and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, to his ſon Francis II.

The death of two chiefs of the league of kings againſt France was a diſtreſſing circumſtance to the french emigrants, who fled in great numbers

* Ankarſtroem was armed with a dentelated poignard, and a pair of piſtols charged with ſeveral pieces of balls, bullets, and little nails. One ſhot of the piſtol completed the dreadful act.

† The 29th of March 1791. He had been aſſaſſinated in the night of the 15th of the ſame month.

‡ The 1ſt of March 1791.

to

to Peterſburg, to apply for aſſiſtance in troops, which the empreſs failed not to promiſe, but was too wiſe to grant.

Her majeſty, however, took a great intereſt in the revolution that had taken place in France; apprehenſive leſt the principles upon which it was effected might find their way into Ruſſia, and there occaſion ſome combuſtion ſubverſive of the throne. To all the French who ſignified that they were attached to their old form of government, ſhe gave a welcome reception; while ſhe ſeverely proſcribed the reſt. The ambaſſador of France quitted Peterſburg: but as Catharine, while ſhe cenſured the opinions of that miniſter, could not refrain from doing juſtice to his virtues, to his talents, and the amenity of his manners, ſhe ſaid to him, on his taking leave of her: "I "am an ariſtocrat; for I muſt carry on my "buſineſs." A little while after ſhe recalled the ambaſſador whom ſhe had at Paris. She refuſed acceſs to her court to the chargé d'affaires* of France, and prohibited her miniſters from conferring with him. Her animoſity againſt the French extended even to colonel l'Harpe, who was employed in the education of the two young princes Alexander and Conſtantine, and who, as a Swiſs and a philoſopher,

* Genet.

bore

bore in his heart the love of liberty. That eſtimable and amiable man had often been ſubject to attacks from the hatred of the emigrants; but his prudence, and the well-founded reſpect that was ſhewn him by the grand duke, ſupported him againſt their intrigues *.

Catharine obliged all the French that were in her dominions to take an oath of allegiance to the pretender to the crown of France, and to ſwear an immortal hatred to the french republic. Thoſe who refuſed were allowed only an interval of ſix weeks to ſettle their affairs, and were afterwards rigorouſly forced to quit the territory of Ruſſia, where the greater part left behind them debts, which their creditors have probably long ſince regarded as deſperate †.

The court of Peterſburg was at this time divided into two parties; the one having at its

* The principal emigrants at that time in Peterſburg were, count Eſterhazy, Bombelles, Saint-Prieſt, Choiſeul-Gouffier, M. Calonne, the count d'Artois, Roger Damas, d'Eſcars, the ſwiſs colonel de Roll, the biſhop of Arras, and Senec de Meilhan. It is a curious fact, that when the ſon of count Eſterhazy appeared at court, the empreſs cauſed the boy to ſing the patriotic ſongs of the French; and thus the hermitage ſometimes reſounded with the air *ça ira* and the *carmagnole*.

†. For the principal paſſages of the ukaſe publiſhed on this occaſion, the reader is referred to the appendix at the end of the volume.

head

head the old count Oſtermann, the Vorontzoffs, and Bezborodko, who endeavoured to ſhelter themſelves under the name of the grand duke, but whom that prince had always the prudence not to avow, and of whoſe intrigues he either was, or at leaſt feigned to be ignorant. The other party was that of Zuboff, Markoff, and Nicolay Ivanovitch Soltikoff, devoted to the favourite *.

This favourite was beſides ſupported by his father, his three brothers, and his ſiſter, all amply provided for by the bounties of the ſovereign. It is neceſſary here to give ſome account of that family.

The father of the favourite Zuboff had been vice-governor of a province, and in that quality entruſted with the adminiſtration of the finances, the magazines, and the manufactories dependent on it. Theſe eſtabliſhments were burnt, not without ſuſpicion of its having been done for the ſame purpoſes as many other fires have happened in Ruſſia, namely, for ſaving the managers the trouble of balancing their accounts. However that be, this conflagration was the means of procuring the vice-governor an annual income of 60,000 rubles. After the elevation of his

* Count Nicolay Ivanovitch Soltikoff is now preſident of the college of war.

ſon,

ſon, Zuboff obtained the important place of procureur-general of the ſenate; in which office he was guilty of ſo much malverſation, that even his ſon was ſo aſhamed of him, that he reſolved to remove him, and procured him the appointment of ſenator in one of the departments of Moſco, where he died, leaving behind him an immenſe fortune.

Nicolay Zuboff, eldeſt ſon of this extortioner, was a man much eſteemed. He ſerved in Poland, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery, and married the daughter of field-marſhal Suvaroff.

Valerian Zuboff, brigadier and major of the guards, was alſo an officer in the army in Poland, where he had a leg carried away by a cannon-ball. He, for ſome time, ſhared the favour of the ſovereign with his brother Plato, and afterwards had the command of the army that marched againſt the Perſians.

Alexander Zuboff, chamberlain to the empreſs, a man without talents, but ambitious, was ſon-in-law of the rich prince Vaſemſkoï, who had united in his perſon the three lucrative poſts of procureur-general of the ſenate of Peterſburg, miniſter of finance, and miniſter of the interior.

Laſtly, Plato Zuboff, the lover of Catharine, decorated with the title of prince, and grand-maſter

maſter of the artillery, enjoyed all the authority formerly poſſeſſed by Orloff, Lanſkoï, and Potemkin. Miniſters, generals, ambaſſadors, were ſeen reſorting to the toilette of this favourite *, to pay humbly their court to him, ſure that theſe acts of condeſcending complaiſance were the moſt effectual means of obtaining the approbation of the empreſs.

The ſiſter of prince Zuboff was married to the chamberlain Jerebzoff. This lady, handſome and very gallant, employed a part of her revenues in acts of beneficence, and often failed in an aſſignation with a lover, to go and relieve the diſtreſſed. She abhorred the court, was an enemy to all etiquette, and avoided great companies. The britiſh miniſter attached himſelf to her, and through her influence, joined to that of the favourite, ſucceeded in pacifying the empreſs, whom the late turkiſh war had irritated againſt the court of London.

* One example may ſuffice to ſhew the reverence in which the favourite is held by the Ruſſians. Zuboff kept a little monkey, of that ſpecies called the Sapajou, full of tricks and very troubleſome, who was offenſive to every body, and whom every body careſſed, in order to pleaſe his maſter. One day, this animal jumped on the head of a general officer, highly dreſſed and powdered; and, after having well touzled his hair, voided his excrement upon it, without ſo far ruffling the ſpirit of the general as to make him venture to complain of the affront.

The intimate confidant of Zuboff was one of his relations, a volatile but ſenſible young man, to whom he had given a place of chamberlain, and whoſe advice he often followed.

Zuboff had beſides great confidence in a Raguzan, named Alteſti. Placed at firſt in the counting-houſe of a free merchant of Conſtantinople, Alteſti got acquainted with the ruſſian miniſter Bulgakoff, who properly appreciating the bold and pliant temper of this young Italian, attached him to his legation, and brought him to Warſaw. The agreeable manners of Alteſti attracted the notice of ſome poliſh ladies of great conſideration, who procured for him the office of envoy to Peterſburg, where he caballed with equal addreſs and ingratitude againſt his patron, and at laſt ſucceeded ſo far as to get him recalled. At the ſame time he found means to intereſt Zuboff in his behalf, who took him as his ſecretary *, and admitted him into the myſteries of his little conclave.

Among the perſons of whom we are ſpeaking, were ſeveral who had conſiderable influence in the cabinet of Peterſburg, but not ſo much as to

* Zuboff had, for the department of war, another ſecretary, named Graboffsky, who had been in the ſecretariate of prince Potemkin under Popoff; and in that of foreign affairs, the Lorrainer Aubert.

direct

direct its buſineſs at their pleaſure. The empreſs kept over them a vigilant eye; and notwithſtanding her advanced age, ſhe employed herſelf ſome hours every day with her miniſters, and decided of herſelf in all important affairs.

About this time the empreſs concluded a new treaty of commerce with Great Britain *; that which had expired in 1786 not having been renewed. Her majeſty at the ſame time publiſhed two edicts, prohibiting the importation of french merchandize into her dominions. This was a double triumph for the Engliſh; as the new treaty of commerce extended their privileges, and they reaſonably hoped to be able to ſubſtitute the ſtuffs of India and their own manufacture, for thoſe of Lyons, and the wines of Madeira and Oporto for the wines of France.

They obtained ſtill more. Catharine promiſed ſhortly to join their fleet with a ruſſian ſquadron; and orders were even ſent to accelerate the armaments at Cronſtadt. Stackelberg preſſed the court of Stockholm not to keep the neutrality with France; and Krudener, animated with the ſame ſpirit, tormented with his ſollicitations the court of Copenhagen. But the Swedes and the Danes, who only conſidered the advantages of their commerce, remained inflexible.

* It was ſigned the 25th of March 1793.

The grand ſignior ſent to Peterſburg an ambaſſador *, offering magnificent preſents to the empreſs and her miniſters †; and her majeſty at the ſame time ſent off to Conſtantinople general Kutuzoff, with the title of ambaſſador extraordinary. Kutuzoff employed both prayers and menaces to determine the porte to expel all the French from the ottoman territory; but in vain. The divan, exaſperated at the deſertion of the Engliſh, who had abandoned them in the laſt war, and being convinced of their true intereſts by the french miniſter Deſcorches, preſerved the reſpect due to a nation whom they regarded as their moſt antient and faithful ally.

In the mean time the ambaſſador of Ruſſia at Stockholm, and the ſwediſh party attached to that power, were perpetually caballing to deprive the duke of Sudermania of the regency, and to give the young king a council to adminiſter the government under the protection of the empreſs. A conſpiracy was even formed, which was detected at the very moment when it was ready to break out; but for giving a juſt

* Raſchid Mehemet effendi.

† Among theſe preſents was a complete tent ornamented with pearls, and eſtimated to be worth 30,000 rubles.

idea of it, it will be neceſſary to revert to a former period.

In 1782, Guſtavus III. made a teſtament, by which he provided, that, in caſe of his deceaſe, his ſon Guſtavus Adolphus, conformably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, ſhould not aſſume the reigns of government till arrived at the age of one-and-twenty. When the war broke out between him and Ruſſia, he made a ſecond, by which the majority of Guſtavus Adolphus was fixed at 18, on account of the unexpected progreſs which that young prince had made in his ſtudies. By theſe teſtaments the regency was given to the duke of Sudermania, together with all the prerogatives of royalty, except that of creating nobles and conferring knighthood.

When the phyſicians had declared to Guſtavus III. that his death was inevitable from the wound he had received of the traitor Ankarſtrœm, the monarch made a third will, in which, ſtill leaving the regency to the duke of Sudermania, he obliged him to take into his council baron von Armfeldt and baron von Taube. As ſoon as the king was dead, this codicil was preſented to the duke, who read it, and then threw it into the fire.

No mention was therefore made of any will, except the two former, which, on their being

preſented to the tribunal of the court, bore all the marks of authenticity, and in purſuance of which the duke of Sudermania was declared regent. That prince immediately recalled the baron von Reuterholm, who, on the breaking up of the diet of 1789, had retired into Italy; and, without any other title, Reuterholm became the principal counſellor, or rather the prime miniſter of the regent.

Almoſt all the friends of Guſtavus III. were devoted to Ruſſia, and had diſperſed. Armfeldt paſſed into Italy, becauſe, contrary to his inclination, he had been appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Naples. But, though at a diſtance from Stockholm, that miniſter was not the leſs active in endeavouring to deprive the duke of Sudermania of the regency, and even of his life. He kept up a regular correſpondence with the court of Peterſburg, by means of the Raguzan Alteſti, ſecretary to Zuboff, and drew up the plan of a conſpiracy, in which were comprehended the friends whom he had left in Sweden. He now thought himſelf on the point of ſucceeding. But all his ſteps had been obſerved by ſpies, who followed him every where: his papers were taken from him, ſent into Sweden, and laid before the tribunal of the court, who immediately arreſted his

his accomplices, and brought them to judgment.

1795. The greater part of the papers relative to this trial were printed, and proved inconteſtibly to the ſwediſh nation, that the conſpirators were acting in concert with Ruſſia, and relied on the aſſiſtance of that power.

Theſe circumſtances were not adapted to the reſtoration of harmony between the two courts. They rather widened the breach from day to day; and the notes which the ruſſian miniſters ſoon after preſented to the court of Stockholm were conceived in menacing terms; to which the ſwediſh miniſtry always replied with firmneſs and decency.

The regent had reſolved to bring about a match between the young king of Sweden and a princeſs of the houſe of Mecklenburg. The marriage was even agreed on, and the princeſs of Mecklenburg declared future queen of Sweden. At this the empreſs teſtified great diſpleaſure; pretending that Guſtavus III. had promiſed her the hand of his ſon for one of the young grand ducheſſes; and ſhe looked upon the failure in the execution of that promiſe as a perſonal affront to her. Accordingly, when count Schverin was commiſſioned to go and announce at Peterſburg the marriage of the young king, Catharine, who had been

previouſly apprized of the object of his miſſion, diſpatched a courier to meet him on the borders of Finland, to forbid him to enter Ruſſia *.

Soon after this, the empreſs made choice of the baron von Budberg to be her majeſty's chargé d'affaires at Stockholm; who, by an affected contempt for the court of Sweden, gave that cabinet room to ſuſpect that this agent had been particularly ſelected for that purpoſe on account of his inexperienced age and his exceſſive pride; for, if it had been recommended to him to ſhew a conſiderable degree of ſtatelineſs and inſolence, he nevertheleſs certainly exceeded his orders †.

1796. The miſunderſtanding between Sweden and Ruſſia ſeemed now to be arrived at its height, when a french emigrant, named Chriſtin,

* The regent contented himſelf with cauſing to be publiſhed on this occaſion, the declaration which the reader may ſee in the Appendix at the end of the volume.

† In a company where the greater part of the ladies of the court were preſent, and where the men were all uncovered, he was ſo unpolite as to keep his hat on his head. It was previous to his preſentation at court. Accordingly, the day on which he was preſented, the regent ſpoke not a word to him; but, having his horſewhip in his hand, kept ſtriking it repeatedly on his boot, as if his fingers itched to ſtrike elſewhere.

made

made his appearance at Stockholm *. He had come from England to Gothemburgh, and gave out that he was charged with a miſſion from the count d'Artois to the empreſs of Ruſſia. But this was only the better to conceal the real object of his journey, as it was afterwards well known that he had ſecret orders to incline the regent to an accommodation with the empreſs. His negotiation was attended with ſucceſs: and ſoon afterwards general Budberg, uncle of the chargé d'affaires, arrived in Sweden, with the title of ambaſſador from the empreſs.

General Budberg informed the regent of the intentions of his ſovereign. She requeſted that that prince and baron von Reuterholm would diſpoſe the young king to repudiate the princeſs of Mecklenburg, in order to eſpouſe one of the grand-daughters of Catharine; and that they would moreover engage him not to exact of his conſort a conformity to the law by which the queens of Sweden are bound to adopt the religion of the country: laſtly, ſhe was deſirous that the regent and Reuterholm ſhould accompany the young king to Peterſburg.

* In the month of January, Chriſtin wore a ſwiſs uniform, and gave out that he was an officer in the ſervice of that nation.

Catharine

Catharine ſpoke: ſhe was obeyed. The regent, with his royal ward *, his miniſter, and a great train of courtiers, repaired to Peterſburg †. The pride of the empreſs was ſatisfied: ſhe now diſplayed nothing more than her magnificence.

The young king ſeemed greatly affected at the benevolence that was ſhewn him by the empreſs; but he was ſtill more ſo at the charms of the grand ducheſs Alexandra. The ſight of her made him eaſily forget the princeſs of Mecklenburg: propoſals of marriage were made on the ſpot, and the day fixed for the ceremony of the eſpouſals, which was to be followed by a grand entertainment. When the contract was preſented to the king for his ſignature, he obſerved, to the great aſtoniſhment of the imperial family, that the fundamental laws of Sweden obliged him to require, that the princeſs ſhould previouſly change her religion; and that, without this condition, he could not put his hand to the contract.

Catharine at firſt had recourſe to ſollicitations and flatteries to perſuade the young monarch to

* The young king Guſtavus Adolphus took the title of count von Haga, and the regent that of count von Vaſa.

† They arrived there the 24th of Auguſt.

ſign

ſign the deed. But, perceiving that they were ineffectual towards bringing him to alter his reſolution, ſhe coldly roſe up, and retired. She was followed by the grand duke, the grand ducheſs, and their children. Nothing more was heard of the entertainment: and on the morrow Guſtavus Adolphus and his retinue quitted Peterſburg.

Catharine had conquered, either by her arms or by her intrigues, almoſt one half of Poland, the Krimea, the Kuban, and a part of the frontiers of Turkey. But ſhe had no need of armaments and battles for uſurping another rich and well-peopled country. Her intrigues were ſufficient. This country was Courland and Semigallia, where ſtill reigned the feeble ſon * of the famous Biren.

It was long ſince the emiſſaries of Ruſſia had been ſucceſsful in their attempts to gain over ſeveral of the principal barons of Courland, and particularly the counſellor Hoven, an eloquent, complying, and ambitious man. The couriſh nobles † were often attracted to Peterſburg; where the flattering reception of the empreſs,

* Duke Peter.

† The principal of theſe nobles are the families of Manteufel, Bahr, Klopmann, Korff, Grothaus, Saſs, Igelſtrom, &c.

diſtinctions,

diſtinctions, honours, poſts, and pleaſures, rendered their abode in the imperial reſidence far preferable to continuing in Mittau, and raiſed in them the deſire of being under the ſway of the ſovereign of a vaſt empire, rather than to live in obedience to a duke, the obſcurity of whoſe origin they could not forget, and whom they regarded as their inferior.

For inducing the people to partake in this ſentiment of the nobles, Catharine artfully raiſed a ſpirit of diſſenſion in their minds, and threw out reaſons of alarm. She began by inſtigating the inhabitants of Livonia to inſiſt upon the fulfilment of an ancient convention, by which the Courlanders were obliged to bring all their merchandizes to Riga: certainly a very ſtrange and hard condition, by which a nation, that had on its coaſts excellent harbours happily ſituated, ſhould be obliged to go, at a great expence, to embark the products of its ſoil in a foreign city. But what cannot force effect? and what will not ambition dare? The quarrel between the Livonians and the Courlanders was not yet terminated, when the empreſs ſent engineers into Courland, to mark out a canal, to facilitate the tranſport of the merchandizes of that country into Livonia. The Courlanders ſeeing this, and fearing leſt they ſhould be ſoon forced to make

make uſe of this canal, thought it better for them to be protected than oppreſſed by the empreſs, and to be her ſubjects rather than her neighbours.

Catharine, being informed of theſe diſpoſitions, called the duke of Courland to her, under the pretext of having occaſion to confer with him on matters of importance. But no ſooner was that prince at the foot of the throne of the autocratrix of the north, than the ſtates of Courland held an aſſembly. The nobility propoſed to withdraw the country from the ſupremacy of Poland, and to put it under that of Ruſſia. The principal members of the grand council made a faint oppoſition to this alteration, by obſerving, that before they proceeded to a reſolution, it would be expedient to wait the return of the duke. The oberburgraff Hoven roſe up, and ſpoke a long time in favour of Ruſſia. Some counſellors expreſſed themſelves of his opinion, and others reproached him with treaſon. The diſpute grew warm on both ſides; challenges were reciprocally given and ſwords were about to be drawn, when the ruſſian general Pahlen appeared in the aſſembly. His preſence reſtored tranquillity. No one preſumed to raiſe his voice againſt Ruſſia; and the propoſal of the nobles was adopted.

The

The next day * the act was drawn up, by which Courland, Semigallia, and the circle of Pilten, made a formal ſurrender of themſelves to the empreſs of Ruſſia; and it was carried to Peterſburg, where the duke of Courland learnt, from the mouth of his own ſubjects, that they themſelves had deprived him of his dominions †. The empreſs immediately ſent a governor thither.

However, ſome diſcontent remained in Courland: diſcontent brought on proſcription; and the poſſeſſions of the proſcribed were given to the courtiers of Catharine. The favourite Plato Zuboff and his brother Valerian obtained a great part of theſe rich and ſhameful ſpoils.

The acquiſition of Courland was of great value to Ruſſia. That country produces much corn and timber, in both of which a great commerce is carried on; and it has ſeveral ports advantageouſly ſituated in the Baltic. As a

* The 18th of March 1795. This ſingular act may be ſeen in the Appendix at the end of the volume.

† It ſhould ſeem that the duke was aware of this intended ſpoliation, as he had bought up ſeveral eſtates in Pruſſia, the duchy of Sagan in Sileſia, the domains of Rothenburg, and Frederiksfeldt in Brandenburg. He was already poſſeſſed, in Sileſia, of the countries of Vartenberg, of Balin, and of Goſchutz.

country

country not ſo particularly known to the reſt of Europe as many of its neighbouring ſtates, an account of it here would be highly intereſting, but our limits will not permit. We ſhall only obſerve, that Liebau is a great augmentation to the immenſe wealth of Ruſſia; and that Vindau will doubtleſs become one day the ſtation of her fleets. That port, which is never obſtructed by ice, would be eaſily made able to contain 100 ſhips of the line, which would at any time keep Denmark and Sweden in awe.

Though the peaceful ſovereign of ſo many uſurped dominions, Catharine was perpetually taking freſh meaſures to annex them inſeparably to her eſtates. Prince Repnin and general Toutoulmin exacted in her name a new oath of allegiance, the one in Lithuania, the other in Poland *; and the miſerable inhabitants of thoſe countries, who dared to refuſe to ſubmit to that cruel formality, were inſtantly deſpoiled of the heritage of their fathers and driven from their natal ſoil.

The empreſs, who had ſo long given unavailing promiſes of aſſiſtance to the concert of kings againſt France, yielded to the ſollicitations of the

* The form of the oath to be taken individually by the Lithuanians and the Poles, is inſerted in the Appendix at the end of the volume.

favourite

favourite Zuboff, to which he had been conſtantly ſtimulated by his ſiſter, the britiſh miniſter, and Eſterhazy. She determined * to join the engliſh navy with a ſquadron of twelve ſhips of the line and eight frigates, the command whereof was given to admiral Hanikoff †. But, never making treaties without a view to the benefit of her country, it was ſtipulated on her part that the ſhips ſhould be proviſioned at the expence of her ally, and ſent home in thorough repair, by which means her raw mariners were diſciplined, and her crazy veſſels, moſtly of fir timber, and which would hardly bear the ſea, were completely refitted.

Catharine had married ‡ her grandſon Alexander with the princeſs Louiſa of Baden-Durlach ‖; and was now deſirous of giving a ſpouſe to prince Conſtantine. She invited to her court the three daughters of the prince of Saxe-

* The 22d of July 1795.

† Hanikoff is a brave and deſerving officer, ſpeaks engliſh remarkably well, and was to have accompanied commodore James Trevenen, on the intended voyage of diſcovery, which was laid aſide on the breaking out of the ſwediſh war.

‡ The 21ſt of May 1793.

‖ On embracing the greek religion, the princeſs Louiſa of Baden-Durlach took the name of Elizabeth Alexievna.

Coburg;

Coburg; and, after having ſome time heſitated in her choice, ſhe determined in favour of the youngeſt, who, on becoming grand ducheſs, took the name of Anna Feodorovna *.

But theſe quiet uſurpations, theſe treaties and alliances, were not ſufficient to give full occupation to the mind of Catharine. Inured to conqueſt, ſhe turned her arms againſt Perſia; and under pretence of defending Lolf-Ali-khan, an offspring of the race of the ſophis, ſhe wanted to take revenge on Aga-Mahmed and to gain poſſeſſion of the perſian provinces which border on the Caſpian. Her miniſter at Conſtantinople therefore had orders to preſs the porte to ſecond her deſigns. But, although ſtrongly ſupported by the reis-effendi Raſchid-Mehemet, the divan remained immovable.

Valerian Zuboff, at the head of a numerous army, penetrated into the province of Dagheſtan, and advanced to lay ſiege to Derbent. His firſt attack was directed againſt a high tower which defended the place; and, after having made himſelf maſter of it, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword, he was preparing to make an aſſault upon the town. The Perſians, intimidated by the former ſucceſſes and the im-

* The 14th of February 1796.

petuoſity of the Ruſſians, cried out for quarter; and the commandant, a venerable old man, of the amazing age of 120 years, and the ſame who, at the commencement of the preſent century, had ſurrendered Derbent to Peter I. came now to deliver the keys to Valerian Zuboff.

Aga-Mahmed was advancing with ſuccours to the relief of Derbent, when he heard that the place was already in the hands of the Ruſſians. Valerian Zuboff came forth from the place to offer him battle, in which victory declared for the Perſians, who forced their enemies to return into Derbent. Catharine, being informed of this defeat, immediately gave orders for a body of troops which ſhe had in the Kuban to go and reinforce the army of Valerian Zuboff, not doubting that her general would very ſoon give a total defeat to Aga-Mahmed.

She alſo flattered herſelf with the hopes of obtaining a greater triumph. The new treaty which ſhe had juſt concluded with Great Britain and with Auſtria ſecured to her the aſſiſtance of thoſe two powers againſt Turkey: in a word, ſhe now reckoned on the full accompliſhment of her darling project, of driving the Ottomans out of Europe and of reigning in Conſtantinople.

In

In that caſe the vaſt empire of Catharine would have for its frontiers, the thracian Boſphorus to the ſouth, the gulf of Bothnia to the north, the Viſtula to the weſt, and the ſea of Japan to the eaſt.

But death deceived her hopes. On the morning of the 9th of November ſhe was in good ſpirits, and took her coffee as uſual. Some time after this ſhe retired to her cloſet; where, after remaining a full half hour, the women who waited on her, not ſeeing her return, began to be alarmed; and, on entering the outer room in which it was, they found her ſtretched on the parquet with her feet againſt the door, and ſpeechleſs. Upon this, a meſſenger was diſpatched to Dr. John Rogerſon, her majeſty's chief phyſician, who, judging it to be a fit of apoplexy, ordered her twice to be let blood, on which the empreſs at firſt appeared to be ſomewhat relieved; but ſhe was unable to utter a ſingle word, and at ten o'clock in the evening of the following day ſhe expired *.

The

* Catharine, through life, had been ſeldom out of order; and her even and cheerful frame of mind perhaps contributed to the preſervation of her health. She ſuffered a little, latterly, by ſwellings in the legs, and was ſometimes ſubject

The grand duke was at his country palace of Gatſhina, to which place an officer was ſent off to apprize him of the danger of his mother. He repaired to Peterſburg, and at the inſtant when ſhe ceaſed to breathe, was proclaimed emperor by the name of Paul I.

We ſhall not attempt to trace in new colours the character of Catharine II. The hiſtory we have now been writing ſufficiently diſplays it. To the little that has been ſaid before, we ſhall only ſubjoin a few words on her perſon.

That princeſs had been handſome in her youth, and ſhe preſerved a gracefulneſs and majeſty to the laſt period of her life. She was of a moderate ſtature, but well proportioned; and, as ſhe carried her head very high, ſhe appeared rather tall. She had an open front, an aquiline noſe, an agreeable mouth, and her chin, though long, was not mis-ſhapen. Her hair was auburn, her eyebrows black and rather thick; and her blue eyes *

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to a trifling colic. She loſt all conſciouſneſs from the moment of her laſt attack.—Her good genius preſerved her from the pains of a lingering illneſs; and ſhe died fortunately as ſhe had always lived.

* Several perſons who lived at the court of that princeſs affirm, that Catharine II. had very blue eyes, and not brown, as is ſaid by M. Rulhieres.

had

had a gentleneſs which was often affected, but oftener ſtill a mixture of pride. Her phyſiognomy was not deficient in expreſſion; but that expreſſion never diſcovered what was paſſing in the ſoul of Catharine, or rather it ſerved her the better to diſguiſe it.

The empreſs was uſually dreſſed in the ruſſian manner. She wore a green gown * ſomewhat ſhort, forming in front a kind of veſt, and with cloſe ſleeves reaching to the wriſt. Her hair, ſlightly powdered, flowed upon her ſhoulders, topped with a ſmall cap covered with diamonds. In the latter years of her life ſhe put on a great deal of rouge; for ſhe was ſtill deſirous to prevent the impreſſions of time from being viſible on her face; and ſhe always obſerved the ſtricteſt temperance †.

* Green is the favourite colour with the Ruſſians. Several of their uniforms are green.

† She made but a light breakfaſt, ate moderately at dinner, and never had any ſupper. When ſhe read in foreign prints, that ſhe had a dropſy and a ſcirrhous complaint, and that ſhe could not live long, ſhe affected to laugh at it; but near obſervers aſſert, that ſhe was ſecretly hurt at the time.

We promiſed to give a ſtatement of the preſents received by the favourites of Catharine The following has been communicated to us by perſons well informed:

	Rubles.
The five brothers ORLOFF received 45,000 peaſants; and in lands, palaces, jewels, plate, and money — — —	17,000,000
VISSENSKY, officer of the guards, about two months in favour — —	300,000
VASSILTSCHIKOFF, ſimple lieutenant of the guards, received, in the 22 months that he was in favour:	
An eſtate with 7000 peaſants upon it, eſtimated at — — —	600,000
In money — — —	100,000
In jewels — — —	60,000
In plate — — —	50,000
A palace furniſhed — —	100,000
A penſion of 20,000 rubles per annum, nearly	200,000
Total	1,100,000
The order of St. Alexander Nefsky.	
Prince POTEMKIN received, in the two firſt years, about nine millions.	
He afterwards accumulated immenſe riches. He had great eſtates in Poland, and in all the provinces of Ruſſia. One of his book-caſes was full of gold, diamonds, and notes of the banks of London, Amſterdam, and Venice. His fortune was eſtimated at —	50,000,000

ZAVODOFFSKY

	Rubles.
ZAVODOFFSKY received, in 18 months, lands in Poland with 2000 peaſants, in the Ukraine with 6000, and in Ruſſia with 1800.	
Theſe eſtates were eſtimated at —	1,000,000
He received in money — —	150,000
In plate — — —	50,000
In jewels — — —	80,000
In a penſion on the cabinet of 10,000 rubles a-year — — —	100,000
Total	1,380,000

The ribbon of the white eagle of Poland.

ZORITCH received, in one year, the ribbon of the order of the ſword of Sweden, and that of the white eagle of Poland.	
An eſtate in Poland, of — —	500,000
One in Livonia, of 50 haaks —	100,000
A commandery in Poland, produced 12,000 rubles yearly, valued at —	120,000
In money — — —	500,000
In jewels — — —	200,000
Total	1,420,000

KORZAKOFF received, in 16 months, the ribbon of the white eagle of Poland, the palace of Vaſſiltſchikoff re-purchaſed for him —	100,000
An eſtate with 4000 peaſants —	400,000
In money and jewels — —	150,000
The liquidation of his debts —	100,000
To fit him out for travelling —	100,000
Gratification while on his travels —	70,000
Total	920,000

	Rubles.
Lanskoï received, in eſtates or money	3,000,000
In diamonds — — —	80,000
To pay his debts — — —	80,000
A palace valued at — —	100,000
Total	3,260,000

Moreover, his ſiſter and his couſin were admitted into the number of maids of honour to the empreſs, and received many preſents not brought into the account.

Yermoloff received, in 16 months, the ribbon of the white eagle of Poland.

An eſtate valued at — —	100,000
Another with 3000 peaſants —	300,000
In money — — —	150,000
Total	550,000

Momonoff received, in 26 months, in eſtates	600,000
In money — — —	200,000
In jewels — — —	80,000
Total	880,000

Plato Zuboff was decorated with the title of prince, and with ſeveral ribbons, and appointed grand-maſter of the artillery. He received large eſtates in Ruſſia, in Poland, and in Courland. His fortune, excluſive of moveables and jewels, amounts to about 100,000 per annum, and conſequently valued at — — — 2,500,000

His moveables and his jewels —	200,000
Total	2,700,000

	Rubles.
VALERIAN ZUBOFF received great ſums in money, eſtates in Poland and in Courland, and a penſion of 12,000 rubles, payable in gold. The whole may be eſtimated at	800,000
To theſe gifts muſt be added the expenditure of the favourite, eſtimated at 1,250,000 rubles per annum, which, during the 34 years of the reign of Catharine II. amounts to	8,500,000
Sum total	88,820,000

We have ſo often had occaſion to ſpeak of the wars and the conqueſts of Catharine II. that we ſhould not be eaſily excuſed for omitting an account of the forces of her empire, and all the means in her poſſeſſion, independent on her policy and uncommon talents, for eſtabliſhing and enlarging her power. Here follows then a ſuccinct ſtate of the

ARMY.

In 1794 the ruſſian army was compoſed of eight diviſions, each of 50,000 men; and theſe diviſions had their particular generals. 1. The diviſion of FINLAND, commanded by the prince of Anhalt, kinſman to the empreſs. 2. The diviſion of LIVONIA, commanded by field-marſhal Ivan Soltikoff. 3. The diviſion of Mosco, commanded by general Prozoroffsky. 4. The

4. The diviſion of WHITE RUSSIA, under the orders of general Mikelſon, conqueror of the rebel Pugatſheff. 5. The diviſion of the UKRAINE, commanded by field-marſhal Suvaroff Rimnikſky. 6. The diviſion of CAUCASUS, under orders of general Gudovitch, who took from the Turks the fortreſſes of Anapa and of Sudyuk-kaly. 7. The diviſion of UFA, commanded by general Reck, having under him general Chardon, a native of Avignon. 8. The diviſion of SIBERIA, commanded by general Strandmann.

Theſe eight diviſions were ſtated to form a regular army of	400,000 men.
The artillery, of which the favourite Plato Zuboff was grand-maſter, reckoned about	30,000
Three regiments of foot-guards, and a regiment of horſe-guards — —	10,000
The kozaks of the Don, the Tartars of Taurida, the Kalmuks, and ſeveral other hordes, furniſhed, in irregular troops, nearly — — —	120,000
Total of the army	550,000

This

This army was completed by the recruits which the proprietors of eſtates were obliged to furniſh, ſometimes by raiſing one man out of every 500 of their peaſants, ſometimes out of 300, ſometimes out of 100*.

State of the ruſſian army in January 1795, according to the regiſters of the college of war,

* In the war before laſt againſt the Turks, it once happened, that one man out of 35 was taken, to recruit the army of marſhal Romantzoff.

This method of recruiting, though convenient to the empreſs, was ruinous to the empire, and was attended with horrible abuſes. The officers employed in levying recruits, after ſtripping naked all the men preſented to them, cut the hair from behind of thoſe they rejected, and the hair over the forehead of ſuch as they accepted. They were obliged to ſelect only ſound men, exempt from all bodily blemiſh; but by means of a ſlight gratification, they were induced to take ſuch as the maſters wiſhed to get rid of, and who often were not even able to bear the fatigues of the journey. Beſides, the maſters were obliged to give a certain ſum of money to theſe recruits; the relations almoſt always added ſomething to this ſum; and all this was truſted to the officer, whoſe intereſt it was that the recruits ſhould not join the army, that he might keep what belonged to them. Accordingly, he fed them ſo badly, and fatigued them ſo much, that ſometimes not more than a third reached the place of their deſtination. It was very well authenticated, that of 60,000 men raiſed in a diſtrict, to recruit the army of prince Potemkin, only 1800 were able to join that army.

made

made up from the reports of the different corps:

Regiments.	Number of men in pay.
19 of artillery — — —	38,110
11 Grenadiers, of 4075 men each —	51,048
3 Grenadiers, of 1000 to 3000 men each	
51 Muſketeers, compoſed of 10 companies of muſketeers, and 2 companies of grenadiers, each regiment being compoſed of 2424 men	139,592
7 Muſketeers without grenadiers —	
1 Muſketeers, of 4 battalions 4143 men	
New arquebuſiers, ſo called —	5,879
12 Battalions of muſketeers, of 1019 men	16,653
3 Battalions of muſketeers, of 1475 men	
48 Battalions, infantry in garriſon on the frontiers — — —	82,393
10 in the country — —	
9 Corps of chaſſeurs (yæger-corps) of 4 battalions of 988 men, each 3992 —	25,928.
3 Battalions of chaſſeurs — —	2,994
5 Cuiraſſiers (of 6 ſquadrons) of 1106 and 1125 men — — —	5,490
10 Dragoons (of 10 ſquadrons) of 1882 men	23,573
2 with huſſars and grenadiers mounted	
8 Carabiniers (of 6 ſquadrons) of 1106 men	16,352
8 Carabiniers (of 5 ſquadrons) of 988 men	
2 Huſſars, of 1119 men —	2,722
3 Squadrons huſſars —	
1 Squadron huſſars de corps —	
4 Regiments chaſſeurs à cheval, of 1838 men	7,352
5 Light horſe (of 6 ſquadrons) of 1047 men	5,235
6 Cavalry of the Ukraine, of 1047 men	6,282

16 Regular

Regiments.	Number of men in pay.
16 Regular kozak cavalry — —	30,883
Troops to guard the country (maréchauſſée)	22,216
In the new provinces acquired from Poland in the firſt partition, viz.	
6 Brigades of 1819 men —	
5 Brigades light horſe, of 1098 men —	23,360
4 of infantry, of 1447, &c. in all	
Invalids in garriſon — —	3,864
Soldiers' ſons at ſchool for ſervice —	16,816
Troops to aſſiſt the commiſſaries, &c.	1,258
Total regular troops — Men	541,741
Irregular kozaks cavalry 21,625	
Irregular troops of the Don kozaks cavalry, all in actual ſervice 24,976	46,601
A great number of other irregular troops, all cavalry, as Kalmuks, Baſchkirs, &c. not enrolled, but ready when called out, they receive no pay; at leaſt —	100,000
Men	688,332

All the regiments encamp from the month of May to the end of Auguſt. In their tents they have no ſtraw; but each ſoldier lies upon the bare and often the wet ground. When he mounts guard, it is for a fortnight together. But when he is taken ill, the government has him attended with maternal care. No expence has been ſpared in providing hoſpitals; large buildings have been conſtructed in the principal towns, and a proper

number of phyſicians attached to them. There they have medicines and diet, ſuited to the patients' caſe, let the coſt be what it may. Notwithſtanding all this, the ſoldiers enter the hoſpitals with repugnance, and are glad to leave them as ſoon as they can. It is not ſo with the officers of theſe hoſpitals, who contrive to ſecure ſome comfortable perquiſites to themſelves.

With regard to the proportion of military force which the empire can ſend into the field, Ruſſia has great advantages, as it has but little luxury, commerce, or manufactures; and after the greateſt levies, hands enough will remain for all the purpoſes of agriculture.

That the extent of the ruſſian empire will not permit the raiſing of its whole military force is evident; and ſuppoſing the population to be ſix millions more than France, it would be a great miſtake to ſuppoſe that Ruſſia could make as conſiderable a levy. The manner of thinking of the Ruſſians is not favourable to this; for if we except ſome of its people, as the kozaks, the Kalmuks, &c. the repugnance of the lower order of the people for the military profeſſion, is greater in Ruſſia than in almoſt any other country.

It

It may be ſome inducement to a ruſſian peaſant or ſerf to enter into the army: the pay is tolerably good, more ſo, comparatively, than in moſt countries of Europe; but they are not allowed leave of abſence for ſix months in the year, as in Germany; and from the diſtance of their ſtations, a young man on enliſting may be conſidered as having quitted his family and connections for ever. It is true, that ſince 1793 the time of ſervice, which uſed to be for life, is limited to twenty-five years. This may have a good effect in giving hopes to the recruit of reviſiting, though at a diſtant period, his family and friends.

However dear bread may be, the ruſſian ſoldier always has abundance; indeed the dearer it is the better for him, as he has generally a ſuperfluity to diſpoſe of: and conſidering all circumſtances, the pay of the ruſſian ſoldier is better than that of Pruſſia, Auſtria, or France.

The diſcipline is ſevere, (the lower officers having a right to inflict a puniſhment, not exceeding twenty ſtrokes with a cane, of their own authority,) but the occaſions of puniſhment are not ſo frequent as in Germany. The Ruſſian has no gaiters to clean, no breeches to whiten, no buttons to poliſh, or hair to dreſs. When the

the ſoldiers remain in garriſon, they are generally not permitted to marry, but when they are, there is an extraordinary allowance for their wives and children.

Some conſiderable improvements have been made of late in the ruſſian army; and the wars and revolutions of the preſent times, which, according to the philoſophers, are to improve the whole human race, have certainly tended in Ruſſia, as in other countries, to ameliorate the hard condition of the private ſoldiers.

NAVY.

The fleet of the BALTIC was eſtabliſhed by Peter I. at St. Peterſburg, at Cronſtadt, and at Reval.

In 1793, this fleet was compoſed of 34 ſhips of the line * and 12 frigates.

In 1794, admiral Pavliſhen brought from Archangel to Cronſtadt †, ſix ſhips of the line and four frigates: in all, 40 ſhips of the line and 16 frigates.

* There were in number 49; but we ſpeak here only of ſuch as were fit to keep the ſea.

† The ſhips built in the ports of the Baltic are of oak, and thoſe which come from Archangel of larch timber.

Beſides

Beſides theſe there were ſeveral bomb-ketches, gun-boats, cutters, and other ſmall veſſels.

The galley-fleet of the Baltic conſiſted of near 400 gallies, which for the moſt part mounted guns.

The fleet of the EUXINE, eſtabliſhed by Peter I. was but of little conſequence, till the time when prince Potemkin took poſſeſſion of the Krimea.

In 1793, there were at Sevaſtopol and Adji-bey *, under the orders of admiral Utſchakoff, eight ſhips of the line, of from 66 to 74 guns, and twelve frigates from 36 to 40 guns †.

At Nicolayef and at Adji-der ‡, 200 che-beks, gun-boats, and other veſſels with oars.

The ſquadron of the CASPIAN was eſtabliſhed by tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, the father of Peter I.

In 1793 it was compoſed of three ſmall frigates, one bomb-ketch, and five corvettes.

* Adji-bey is a harbour newly conſtructed for large ſhips, between Otchakof and the Dnieſtr.

† Almoſt all the cannons were of braſs.

‡ Adji-der is at the mouth of the Liman and of the Dnieſtr.

EXPENDITURE.

	Rubles.
The ſupport of the army coſts ſomewhat leſs than — —	6,000,000
The ſupport of the navy about	1,500,000
All the other ordinary expences amount to — — —	3,500,000
Total	11,000,000

REVENUES.

	Rubles.
The revenues of Ruſſia, proceeding from the capitation, the tributes, the produce of the mines, the duties on merchandize, monopolies, &c. amount to about	32,500,000
From Taurida and Caucaſus	3,000,000
From Poland, about —	7,000,000
From Courland, about —	2,000,000
Total of the revenues	45,000,000

Accordingly, a ſurplus of revenue remained of 34,000,000 of rubles, which was employed to the maintenance of the tribunals, the various public inſtitutions, in penſions, in entertainments,

in

in preſents, and extraordinaries of all kinds. It was not ſufficient for the adminiſtration of Catharine II. ſince ſhe frequently raiſed loans in Holland, Genoa, Venice, and other countries.

TITLE OF THE EMPRESS.

Formerly the ſovereign was always ſtyled, Great Duke, or Great Prince, in ruſs Velikie Knæs. If, according to ſome of the ruſſian annaliſts, Novgorod and Kief were already in the ninth century great-dukedoms, then the origin of that title is apparent: yet the primitive ſignification of the term might lead us to ſuppoſe that it was meant thereby to diſtinguiſh the ſovereign from the other princes, eſpecially the reigning ones, of whom there were always ſeveral in Ruſſia as far back as authentic hiſtory reaches. But all the ruſſian principalities have been now, 1799, united into one monarchy under one ſole ruler for 335 years.

Ivan Vaſſillievitch declared himſelf tzar *, as is generally affirmed, in the year 1547; though this

* Thus, we are told by Lomonoſoff, in his ancient ruſſian hiſtory, that Vladimir the ſaint, who died in 1015, on his marriage with the greek princeſs, took upon him the title of tzar. The ſame author ſays, in his abridged chronicle, that not only Vladimir Vſevolodovitch Monomachus, who

this title is expreſsly attributed in hiſtory to ruſſian ſovereigns of a period far more remote; whether it was actually borne by them, or whether the old annaliſts added it merely to ſignify indiſcriminately a monarchical dignity, or modern hiſtorians have arbitrarily applied it to them without ſufficient reaſon. It denotes, in the ruſſian bible, a king; yet the antient ruſſian writers make uſe of it alſo when ſpeaking of the greek emperors *.

Ruſſia,

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began his reign in 1114, was crowned tzar of all Ruſſia; but alſo that Vaſſilly Ivanovitch, who died in 1535, firſt wrote himſelf in the laſt year of his reign, tzar and ſelf-holder of all Ruſſia.

* Even the derivative *tzarſtvo* means kingdom; thus in the paternoſter tzarſtvoe tvoe, thy kingdom; but alſo in general it ſignifies empire; it is even uſed for the kingdoms of nature. At preſent in ruſs a king is *korol*, and thence *koroleyſtvo* a kingdom. — Moreover, it is only the Ruſſians, and not the other ſclavonian nations, who by tzar denote a ſovereign. And this brings on the queſtion, whence the word is derived? It is ſcarcely imaginable that it has been formed by an abreviation of Cæſar and Tzeſar; for throughout the new teſtament wherever the word occurs it was rendered by keſar, perhaps from the greek bible, which came into Ruſſia with the chriſtian religion; this was afterwards changed into tzeſar, and that again has been altered into imperator. Let us hazard a conjecture here: In the old ruſſian year-books mention is frequently made of tartarian and

Ruſſia, from the extent of its domains, to which no kingdom can be compared, but which itſelf conſiſts of ſeveral kingdoms, had long merited the name of an empire. Peter I. on having the title of emperor given him by ſome of his chief ſubjects, choſe to aſſume it in the year 1721, and it has ſince been borne by all the ruſſian ſovereigns; being called in the ruſſian tongue, if an emperor, Imperator *, and Imperatritza if an empreſs. Two foreign courts at firſt had ſome ſcruples in acknowledging this title †, but they were ſoon removed: all potentates

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and ſiberian tzars and tzarevitches (tzars' ſons); thus, among numberleſs other inſtances, we find, the tzar of the golden horde, the tzar of the Krim, the tzar of Kazan. This title has not been negligently introduced and appropriated by the ruſſian hiſtorians; for the ſovereigns of Ruſſia have borne it ſince the conqueſt of thoſe kingdoms, to this very day, as it ſtands in the imperial title: "tzarina of Kazan, tzarina of Siberia, &c." We may therefore ſuppoſe, with the higheſt probability, that the ruſſian nation, on finding theſe tzars among the neighbouring people, borrowed the title from them, and adopted it into the ruſſian language, to which it is entirely foreign.

* In like manner in Ruſſia the emperor of Germany is ſtyled Imperator; but the king of the Romans is called, Rimſky tzar.

† The french court would not at firſt acknowledge the ruſſian monarch directly for emperor, but only for "ruſ-

tates give the imperial title to the ſovereigns of Ruſſia.

The uſual abbreviated title in ukaſes, in decrees, orders, petitions, &c. is imperator and autocrator *, or imperatritza and autocratrix, of all Ruſſia or of all the Ruſſias. The expreſſion autocrator implies the ſovereign and unlimited authority; and the addition, of all Ruſſia, or of all the Ruſſias †, relates to the junction of all the

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ſian emperor." A very curious diſtinction. The german emperor is ſtill emperor, and ſo is the ruſſian.

* In ruſs it is uniformly *ſamoderjetz vſeroſſyiſkie*, or, when ſpoken of an empreſs, *ſamoderjitza vſeroſſyiſkaia*. The addition, as properly an adjective, is not completely rendered by either of the expreſſions above, *of all Ruſſia*, or *of all the Ruſſias*; the engliſh, any more than the german, having no ſuitable term for it. Every attempt at a more exact tranſlation would have either idiom, or gender, or ſyntax againſt it, and at laſt would look like trifling.—*Samoderjetz* is compounded of *ſam*, *ſelf*, and *derjetz*. If the latter come from *derju*, I keep, or hold, then *ſamoderjetz* is a *ſelf-holder*: and ſo it is tranſlated in the ukaſes that are iſſued in the german tongue by the ſenate, *ſelbſthalter*.

† Whoever ſhould imagine that by this term is implied the ſeveral diviſions of Ruſſia at preſent exiſting, namely, Great Ruſſia, Little Ruſſia, Red Ruſſia, White Ruſſia, would have the ſtream of hiſtory againſt him. For, long ere Little Ruſſia, for example, was ſubjected to the ruſſian monarchs, they bore the title of ſelf-holder of all the Ruſſias.

formerly

formerly diſtinct principalities into a monarchy, under one ſole ruler.

When written at length the title is thus: By the grace of God, Catharine II. * empreſs and autocratrix of all the Ruſſias, of Moſco, Kief, Vladimir, Novgorod, tzarina of Kazan, tzarina of Aſtrakhan, tzarina of Siberia, tzarina of the Tauridan Cherſonneſe, lady of Pſkove, and grand ducheſs of Smolenſk, princeſs of Eſthonia, Livonia, Karelia †, Tver, Yugoria ‡, Permia, Viatka, Bulgaria, and other countries: lady and grand ducheſs of Novgorod of the low country §, of Tſchernigof, Riazane, Polotſk, Roſtof, Yaroſlavl, Bieloſerò, Udoria ||, Obdoria ∂, Kondia,

* The ſovereigns of Ruſſia never put their name before that of the Almighty Monarch of the Univerſe.

† By Karelia is meant the preſent government of Vyburg, generally called Finland.

‡ This is a part of the government of Archangel, namely the diſtrict of Puſtozero, about the mouth of the Petſchora. Yugoria is an obſolete name, of which ſome few appear in the imperial title, which have been retained from very remote periods: commonly they denote but ſmall tracts of country.

§ Meaning Niſhney-Novgorod: *niſhney* in ruſs ſignifies *low*.

|| Likewiſe an obſolete name, which formerly denoted the region about the river Meſen, eſpecially towards its mouth.

∂ By this obſolete name, originating from the river Oby, is meant the region adjacent to Bereſof, in the government

dia *, Vitepſk, Mſtiſlavl, ſovereign of the whole northern region, and lady of the country of Iveria †; of the kartalinian and gruſinian tzars ‡, and of the kabardinian country, of the Tſcherkaſſians, and of the mountain-princes, and of others hereditary lady and ſovereign.

In the *letter of grace*, granted by the empreſs to all the nobility, ſhe adds the following illuſ-

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of Tobolſk. Tzar Vaſſilly Ivanovitch was the firſt who put Obdoria into his title.

* In the ukaſes publiſhed on the acceſſion to the government, beginning with the imperial title, *e. g.* of the year 1762, and in other public acts which contain it, we find Condinia; and ſo ſays Buſching. But in the two letters of grace before mentioned, of the year 1785, it is expreſsly written Kondia, and therefore that name is retained above; moreover, as it denotes the region circumjacent to the river Konda, where it falls into the Irtiſh, it may properly be ſo called. It is found in the imperial title ever ſince the reign of Vaſſilly Ivanovitch.

† Perſons of extenſive information, of whom we inquired, were unable to point out the ſituation of this place: perhaps we ſhould look for it in the diſtrict of Valdai, where the famous old Iverian monaſtery is ſtill ſtanding.

‡ That is, the georgian tzars. We have ſeen, in the foregoing hiſtory, that the tzar of Kartalinia, in the year 1783, ſubmitted himſelf, his ſucceſſors, and all his dominions, formally and publickly to the ruſſian ſovereignty: but theſe mentioned long before appeared in the imperial title, as the former tzars of them had put themſelves under the ruſſian protection.

tration:

tration: "It is known to all nations, that this "title of our ſole ſovereignty is not that of an "imaginary empire not in ſubjection to us; nor "does it contain foreign principalities, pro-"vinces, towns, and countries, but expreſſes "our wide-extended and numerous poſſeſſions "by the ſhorteſt denominations *."

It may further be remarked, that in the earlier ukaſes and manifeſtos, it always ran: "By the "grace of God, we Catharine II. &c." but in the two *letters of grace* it is: "By God's "aſſiſting grace, we Catharine II. &c."—Majeſty is expreſſed in ruſs by *velitſcheſtvo*, which indeed ſignifies *ſovereignty*, but originally imports *greatneſs*, as derived from *veliki*, great.

* Many countries and provinces, ſubject to the ruſſian ſovereignty, indeed do not appear by name in the imperial title: for example, the country of the Kirghiſes, and the Tſchuktſchis lately brought into ſubjection to it, without mentioning the iſlands in the Eaſtern-ocean, which never belonged to Siberia.

CHAP. XVI.

State of literature, arts, and ſciences at St. Peterſburg, during the reign of Catharine II.

IT would be next to impoſſible to give a complete view of all the new and remarkable productions in the republic of ruſſian literature, as critical journals, literary advertiſements, and even copious book catalogues are here extremely rare. There is no other way of acquiring any information of this nature, than by inquiring at the different book-ſhops after recent publications, and therefore it is late before even important and intereſting works come to the knowledge of the public. However, by the aſſiſtance and communications of ſeveral literary acquaintance, in addition to the reſult of our own inquiries, we can venture to preſent the reader with the moſt conſiderable productions of ruſſian authors during the reign of Catharine II. Defective and dry as ſuch an account muſt be for want of room for critical and analytical diſquiſitions on the ſeveral authors, and the ſubjects of their publications, yet it will be found not entirely deficient in

in reſults that may enable us to form a judgment on the ſtate of national literature.

Deceived by the obſcurity that overſpreads the hiſtory of the middle ages, we are apt to ſee in the Ruſſians of that period only a warlike, but rude and uncivilized people, entirely ſtrangers to arts and ſciences. The traces of a ſuperior cultivation which appear in the annaliſts *, and which the induſtry of modern hiſtorians have drawn forth to light, are ſufficient refutations of this inveterate prejudice, and eſtabliſh the probability, that previous to the well known ſubjugation by the Tartars, there was a period when the ruſſian nation merited the appellation of a civilized people. The knowledge and the uſe of the cyrilliſh characters, and the ſclavonian tranſlation of the bible in the ninth century; the ſchools which afterwards the grand duke Vladimir founded; the inclination of that prince to the fine arts; the poetical paraphraſe of the pſalms, which about that time began to be ſung in the churches; the code of civil law which Yaroſlaf Vladimirovitch gave to the Novogradians about the year 1019; the ſplendor of his court, which even foreign contemporary hiſtorians

* For a more particular account of Neſtor and the other annaliſts, ſee profeſſor Schlœtzer's pieces in the ſelections from foreign journals, publiſhed by Debrett, vol. ii. p. 293.

mention

mention with aſtoniſhment; laſtly, the monuments of painting, an art which revived in Ruſſia earlier by a whole century than in Italy: all theſe, and numberleſs other evidences of a conſiderable degree of culture, leave no room to doubt that the Ruſſians of thoſe times had attained to a pitch of improvement, which the other nations of Europe did not reach till a much later æra. Under the domination of the Tartars, this fair dawn of a glorious day was entirely clouded; and, during that diſmal epocha, the diſtanced nations of our quarter of the globe ſo far outſtripped the Ruſſians, that to this moment, notwithſtanding the great exertions they have made, they have not been able to recover their ground. Rouzed by the ſentiment of their oppreſſion to an unintermitted reſiſtance, the diſpoſition to the arts of peace, for which they had been ſo honourably diſtinguiſhed, was loſt in that martial fury which rendered their name ſo formidable in later ages: till at length it required the ſucceſſive exertions of two great princes to revive the dormant faculties, and to connect the name of a brave and ſpirited with the more amiable epithet of a humane and enlightened nation.

With the reign of Peter the Great, began a new epocha in the civilization of Ruſſia. A new

and vaſt territory was conquered for the ſciences; uſeful branches of knowledge, like exotic plants, were tranſplanted and throve in this ſoil; the national genius expanded itſelf under the genial breath of a more mild and proſperous age: the language was depurated, enriched, and formed; authors of talents appeared and produced works which excited the enthuſiaſm of the nation, and the eſteem of foreigners. A ſhort ſlumber ſucceeded to this ſhining period, apparently not ſo much the effect of a premature effort, as of the neglect under which the capacities of the country languiſhed.

Catharine the Second aroſe, and diffuſed around her a renovated and increaſed animation. Encouraged by the example of this great monarch, who held it not beneath her dignity to carry the torch before the national genius, it once more ventured, with ſtill bolder efforts, to engage in the nobleſt ſtrife of mortals, the contention for excellence in illumination and moral improvement. The progreſs ſhe made in emulating her more cultivated neighbours, is worthy the attention of the reſt of Europe. A philoſophical ſketch of ruſſian literature previous to the days of Peter the Great, as it was through his means, and as it now is, muſt be an intereſting fragment for the hiſtory of mankind. — All that

we

we can here pretend to communicate are ſingle ſtrokes, which, however complete they may be in themſelves, without combination with the whole, muſt ever afford only partial concluſions, and can lead to no certain judgment.

THEOLOGY, or what ſometimes bears that name, was no where entirely neglected in the barbarous times of the middle ages; and, on the revival of the ſciences, was one of the firſt departments in which ingenious men endeavoured to excel. Accordingly in Ruſſia this field did not lie totally uncultivated, as is proved by the contents of the monaſtic libraries: but it was reſerved for the age of Catharine to give birth to a plainer ſyſtem and a popular chriſtian morality *. Who can be ignorant of the name and the merit of the venerable Plato? His *compendium of chriſtian theology*, tranſlated into ſeveral languages, has gained him, even among the members of foreign communions, the reputation of an enlightened divine and a uſeful author.

* Theophan Prokopovitch was the firſt ruſſian divine who reduced the dogma, and the characteriſtic doctrines of his church, to a conſiſtent ſyſtem. His principal work is compoſed in latin, under the title of *Chriſtiana orthodoxa theologia*. His ſpiritual diſcourſes, which are deemed claſſical performances, are ſometimes read in the churches during divine ſervice. He died archbiſhop of Novgorod in the year 1736.

It

It is well known that in the ſervice of the greek church, pulpit diſcourſes were rarely held; the late empreſs, who clearly perceived their utility, and knew the effect which the public delivery of leſſons of a ſuperior morality, ſubſtantiated by the example of the Divine Author of our religion, muſt have upon the hearts of men, gave great encouragement to ſacred eloquence with the utmoſt energy and the happieſt effects. Among the prelates who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their homiletical talents and as authors, are principally to be noticed, Gabriel metropolitan of Novgorod and St. Peterſburg, Innocentius archbiſhop of Pſcove and Riga, and Irenæus biſhop of Kaſchin, and Tver. The ſermons of theſe worthy divines are profitable, not alone to the reading claſs of the nation, but they are delivered occaſionally in the churches by imperial command. —Her Majeſty's inſtitutions for inſtruction in the elements of religion, and for diſſeminating among the common people a rational perſuaſion, inſtead of a blind attachment to outward ceremonies, are univerſally known and approved.

Law has been hitherto the pooreſt department of ruſſian literature. Excepting the lectures which are given at the univerſity of Moſco, there is no public tuition in this ſcience; a tolerable knowledge of the laws of the country, and a moderate ſhare of natural or acquired logic, are ſufficient for

for forming a tolerable practitioner. The whole produce therefore of this field of literature is confined to ſeveral *collections*, which have been made from the old law-books, and of the ukaſes of Peter the Great and his ſucceſſors. The æra which Catharine's legiſlation forms in the hiſtory of the ruſſian conſtitution, will probably be favourable to the advancement of this ſtudy, as in the new inſtitutions for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in all the ordinances relating to it, a more conſiſtent plan prevails, which renders the ſcientific culture of this ſyſtem, and the reduction of it to general principles, not only practicable, but even in ſome degree neceſſary *. A ſingularly remarkable phænomenon in this department muſt not be here unnoticed: the ruſſian tranſlation of *Blackſtone's commentaries on the laws of England*, which was ſome years ſince brought out by imperial command.

Even MEDICINE was but lately in ſo uncultivated a ſtate, that in the year 1770 perhaps there were not three books on medical ſubjects. The progreſs of ruſſian literature in this department is the more remarkable, as a great part of the treatiſes and works relating to it were compoſed in the latin tongue, and therefore cannot here be quoted. Among the phyſicians

* A *ſyſtem of ruſſian legiſlation* appeared about ſix or ſeven years ago at Moſco.

who

who have deſerved well of their country in this art, the following have come to our knowledge: Ambodik, privy-counſellor and profeſſor of midwifery, who has eminently contributed to the enriching of ruſſian medical literature. He is the author of a plain and practical *Manual of the art of midwifry*, a *Phiſiology*, a *Materia medica*, and an *Anatomical phyſiological dictionary*, in ruſs, latin, and french. An enlarged and reformed tranſlation of Saucerotte's celebrated *Examen*, under the title of, *A brief examination of inveterate prejudices and notions concerning pregnant women, lying-in-women, and new-born children*; a book that has already gone through ſeveral editions, is alſo from his pen. He is likewiſe the tranſlator of *Schreiber's guide to the knowledge and cure of outward and inward diſeaſes*, and of Home's *Principia medicinæ*. Tiſſot's writings: *Avis au peuple*, and *of the diſorders incident to the learned* are alſo tranſlated into ruſs; the former by the academician Ozeretzkofsky, and the latter by Dr. Schumliansky; who is likewiſe the author of a treatiſe on the *Perfection of the moſt uſeful ſcience* *. Various ſmall medical pieces of M. Tichorsky can only be generally mentioned here, as we have no diſtinct and accurate knowledge of them.

* Medicine.

The ravages made ſeveral years ago by the plague in ſome diſtricts of the ruſſian empire occaſioned a multitude of writings on this dreadful ſcourge of the human race, whereof ſeveral are become honourably known abroad*; on this occaſion too Dr. Richard Mead's diſſertation on the plague was tranſlated into ruſs. *Von Svieten's deſcription of camp ſickneſſes* has found a tranſlator in Dr. Terekhofsky: and baron Dimſdale's *Method of inoculating the ſmall-pox*, in an anonymous admirer.—With the ſame laudable zeal as the foregoing ruſſian phyſicians, ſeveral Germans, who were ſufficiently maſters of the language, beſtowed their talents and induſtry in adding to the riches of this department. Dr. Bacheracht publiſhed a popular book on ſeveral diſeaſes; another on intemperance in ſenſual enjoyments; a propoſal for preſerving the health of ſeamen; a treatiſe on the ſcurvy, and ſome others. M. Vien, ſecretary of the college of medicine, publiſhed a very complete *Loimology*. The privy-counſellor Peken is the author of a *Phiſiology* and *Pyrethology*, for uſe at lectures; and the tranſlator of Richter's *Elements of ſurgery*. Spedikati wrote a controverſial piece on the ſcurvy againſt Bacheracht. A tranſlation of Gaubii *Inſtitutiones pathologiæ medicin.* was pub-

* For example, Dr. Samoilovitch's diſſertation on the plague, of which a german tranſlation has appeared.

liſhed

liſhed by profeſſor Hoffmann. An entirely new appearance, the firſt of its kind, is a medical weekly publication in ruſs, conducted by two phyſicians of St. Peterſburg, Dr. Uhden and Dr. Elliſen.

Whatever pleaſure we feel in contemplating this rapid progreſs of medical literature, we can find none in the ſurvey of PHILOSOPHICAL, which, beſides an elementary book of natural law by Solotnitzky, has no original work, and, beſides the tranſlations of detached articles of the french Encyclopedie, has no verſion to produce, if we except the petty brochures which may be claſſed in the diſtrict of morals *. The field of POLITICAL ŒCONOMY, is not altogether ſo barren, though the whole produce of it conſiſts in tranſlations. The moſt important of them is undoubtedly Monteſquieu's *Eſprit des loix* by Kramarenkoff. The ſame author's tract *Sur les cauſes de la grandeur et de la décadence de l'empire romain*; St. Pierre's philoſophical dream of an everlaſting peace;

* It muſt be remembered that we ſpeak only of Peterſburg. Moſco has in this, as well as in many other departments of literature, produced good original works and tranſlations. A periodical publication, the Moſco journal, ſet up not long ſince, is endeavouring to ſupply this defect. One object of this magazine ſeems to be to call the attention of the public to the great revolution which Kant has brought about in philoſophy.

Calliere's work *De la manière de négocier avec les ſouverains*; &c. have likewiſe found tranſlators. Juſti's *Foundation of the authority of governments* is put into ruſs by the aſſeſſor Bogajefsky, and that well-known book, *Les intérêts des nations de l'Europe rélativement au commerce*, by Baſchiloff. We ſhall only mention farther the tranſlation of Necker's book *De l'adminiſtration des finances de la France*; and the adaptation of Bechmann's *Foreſt-calendar* to the exigencies of the ruſſian empire, as theſe publications are the moſt important of their ſpecies. On RURAL ŒCONOMY a great number of particular tracts have appeared, indebted moſtly for their exiſtence to the œconomical ſociety. The collection already publiſhed by the ſociety form a conſiderable agricultural library, amounting now to upwards of forty volumes.

In PHYSICS and NATURAL HISTORY, which ten or fifteen years ago could ſcarcely ſhew a ſingle book, and for which a new language was to be framed, much has lately been produced. The original inveſtigations with which the academicians Lepekhin, Ozeretzkofsky, Sokoloff, Suyeff, &c. have enriched theſe ſciences, are known to the learned abroad through the works of the academy. The french tract of count Gregory Razumofsky on mineralogy, and various papers of the ſame author inſerted in the acts of the

the helvetic ſociety, are a proof how much the ſtudy of nature is prized and proſecuted even among the great. But ſtill greater notice is due to the attempts to extend the culture of phyſics and natural hiſtory in the national tongue. Among the greateſt and moſt brilliant undertakings of this kind muſt be reckoned the complete, as far as poſſible, *Flora Roſſica*, or botanical and œconomical deſcription of all the plants growing wild in Ruſſia, with plates drawn and coloured from nature, by the academician Pallas at the command of the empreſs. To ſay any thing of the execution of this work would be ſuperfluous, as the public of all Europe is in poſſeſſion of ſpecimens of it, and withal as ſomething extraordinary was to be expected from the plan of ſuch a princeſs as Catharine the Second, from the means afforded by ſuch a country as Ruſſia, and from the abilities of ſuch a man as Pallas. The engravings amount to upwards of ſix hundred. The magnificence with which this work appears is worthy of ſuch an undertaking: it is printed at the imperial expence, and is, in all reſpects, a noble preſent to the ſciences and the country, as the copies are only diſtributed gratis.—Among the original works, belonging to the department of natural hiſtory, Suyeff's elements of this ſcience, for the uſe of the higher

ſchools, and Lepekhin's tract on the neceſſity of examining into the medicinal virtues of the indigenous plants, deſerve to be mentioned on account of the utility of their deſign. The tranſlations, made with a view to facilitate the ſtudy of natural knowledge, may be diſpoſed in the following order: Locke's Elements of phyſics; anonymous: Euler's Letters to a german princeſs, by the academician Rumofsky: Krafft's Plan of a courſe of phyſical experiments, from the french manuſcript of Schirokoy: Macquer's Elements of theoretical and practical chemiſtry, by Florinſky: Erxleben's chemiſtry, by Sokoloff: Leſke's natural hiſtory, by Ozeretzkofsky: Cronſtedt's mineralogy, after Brunnich's edition, by Kurduman: Valch's lapidarium, and Lehmann's mineralogy, by Nartoff: Kirwan's mineralogy and Renovantz mineralogical deſcription of the mines of the Altay mountains, by the academician Severgin: Canerin's elements of mine and ſalt-works, &c.

The attempts of the natives in the MATHEMATICAL ſciences are not merely confined to the papers which the academicians Kotelnikoff, Rumofsky, Inokhodzoff, &c. have publiſhed in the Acta Petropolitana. An eſſay by the former on the doctrine of equipoize and the motion of bodies; Siretuſchkin's plan for the improvement

ment of land-ſurveying; the elementary books of mathematics by Koſelsky, Anitſchkoff, and Rumofsky; a manual for voyages by ſea, &c. are among the later original performances. Among the tranſlations we are to diſtinguiſh thoſe of Wolff's compend. elem. Matheſeos, Euler's theory of the conſtruction, &c. of ſhips by Golovin, and Veidler's guide to the knowledge of mines. A tranſlation of the algebra of the academician Fuſs has lately appeared.

We paſs by the department of the MILITARY ART, which has been latterly enriched by ſeveral original works and tranſlations, in order to make the reader acquainted with the moſt remarkable productions in HISTORY, which the imperial reſidence produced towards the cloſe of the late reign. On no field of literature has ſo much labour been beſtowed, and none has ſuch excellent fruits to ſhew. By the example and encouragement of the empreſs great pains have been taken to diſpel the obſcurity in which the early accounts of the country were involved. In 1779 Catharine gave orders to the college of foreign affairs to employ perſons, for the benefit of ruſſian hiſtory, in making a collection of public treaties, antient and modern, after the model of the *Corps diplomatique* of Dumont, under the direction of the celebrated profeſſor Muller of

Moſco, keeper of the archives of that college. She afterwards iſſued a command to the ſynod to make diligent ſearch for old ruſſian manuſcripts in the two libraries belonging to that ſacred body; and then, under the care and inſpection of perſons competent to the undertaking, to cauſe, firſt, the moſt antient and moſt difficult to be underſtood, and afterwards the reſt to be faithfully tranſcribed and printed. This order was preſently after followed by another, to ranſack the libraries of all the monaſteries throughout the empire for chronicles and other manuſcripts relative to the country. Theſe commands, the ſatisfaction which the perſons employed experienced in the peruſal of theſe manuſcripts, and the rewards with which ſeveral of them were further encouraged, ſoon had the wiſhed-for effects; effects of ſuch importance to the elucidation of ruſſian hiſtory, that a great number of curious writings, for the moſt part entirely unknown before, and the reſt extremely rare, were laid before the public. The following, which have come to our knowledge, we can mention by name:

The *Book of the tzars*, or annals of the reign of tzar Ivan Vaſſillievitch, from September 1533 to March 1553. From a MS. written on looſe ſheets in the patriarchal library of Moſco, publiſhed

liſhed by prince Schtſcherbatoff. The reſt, moſt probably, had been conſumed for waſte paper.

Journal of Peter the Great, from the year 1698 to the peace of Nyſtadt, (October 1721) printed from that in the imperial cabinet, written with the emperor's own hand. The editor is prince Schtſcherbatoff, who had permiſſion from the empreſs to examine the archives there of Peter the Great, and to put them in order.

Annals of the empire, reach from 1414 to 1472. The editor is prince Schtſcherbatoff. The MS. was found in the library of prince Gallitzin.

Year-book of the inteſtine diſturbances, and devaſtations of the moſcovite empire, from 1584 to 1655. This was taken by M. Muller as his guide in his eſſay towards a modern hiſtory of Ruſſia. The editor is unknown.

Fidler's panegyric on tzar Borice Godunoff. From the latin MS. by Voronoff.

Campaign of the boyar and commander Schein, (1696,) from a MS. by Ruban.

The old annaliſt, from 1254 to 1379, by order of the empreſs, from a MS. in the academy of ſciences.

Letters and ukaſes of Peter the great to vice-admiral Sinævin. The originals are in the hands

hands of his ſon admiral Sinævin, who publiſhed them.

Life of the patriarch Niton. From ſeveral manuſcripts.

An hiſtorical journal, under the title of *The old ruſſian library*, by Novikoff, containing accounts of embaſſies, curious letters, deſcription of antient uſages, hiſtorical and geographical particulars, works of the old ruſſian bards, &c.

Not content, by her wiſe inſtitutions, with having opened an acceſs to hiſtorical facts, Catharine II. gave a model, in her *Pieces relating to ruſſian hiſtory*, well known throughout Europe, in what manner the hiſtory of the country ſhould be ſought out and treated. A challenge of this ſort, from ſo high a quarter, could not be long without effect. Without reverting to the times of Sumarokoff, of Tatiſcheff, and Lomonoſoff, the firſt ruſſian hiſtorians who had the art of combining hiſtorical criticiſm and repreſentation together, we ſhall content ourſelves with barely noticing the moſt remarkable original productions of the laſt twenty years. The moſt honorable place in this ſeries, is held by the *Ruſſian hiſtory* of prince Schtſcherbatoff, who employed his indefatigable activity for the greater part of his life in becoming the hiſtorian of his country.

Of

Of the ſucceſs of his endeavours, the leſs need here be ſaid, as the book is known abroad by a german tranſlation. *The critique on le Clerc's hiſtory of antient and modern Ruſſia*, by major general Boltin, lately deceaſed, is eſteemed by all judges of ruſſian literature as an excellent performance, in which doubtful facts and antiquated errors are corrected with penetration and accuracy. Tſchulkoff's *Hiſtory of the ruſſian commerce*, is a work ſuch as few nations have to ſhew. Supported by the bounty of the empreſs, and furniſhed with all the ſources which manuſcripts and archival accounts could communicate to the author, he has produced a complete ſyſtem of the former and preſent ſtate of ruſſian commerce, which, both on account of its circuit and the abundance of its facts, ſtands alone in ruſſian literature. *The hiſtory of Peter the Great* has been treated by ſeveral authors. Among the better attempts, Golikoff's hiſtory of that monarch, and *The collection of various writings concerning the life and acts of Peter the Great*, by Tumanſky, muſt be diſtinguiſhed. Yelaghin, an author who had already acquired a reputation by ſeveral literary productions, was ſtill employed at the time of Catharine's deceaſe, in compiling a a ruſſian hiſtory, from which great expectations were formed. *The hiſtorical picture of Ruſſia*,

by Bogdanovitch; Ruban's *chronicle of little Ruſſia;* Kreſtimin's *people on the Dvina;* Tumanſky's *ſketch of a life of the grand duke Alexander Nefsky*, &c. are among the known works in the hiſtorical department. A hiſtory of the armenian Empire, by Vaganoff, is deſerving a place here, as it is drawn from writers of that nation, and may therefore be regarded as a primitive ſource. The following may ſerve as inſtances of the tranſlations, as remarkable either for the ſelection of authorities, or for their acknowledged value. *Hiſtory of John Sobieſky*, by Bogayefsky: St. Real's *Conſpiracy of the Spaniards againſt Venice*: Vertot's *Revolutions of the roman republic*: Mably's *Grecian hiſtory*: Stritter's *Account of the byzantine hiſtorians*: D'Alembert's *Memoirs and reflections concerning Chriſtina, queen of Sweden*: Fiſher's *Siberian hiſtory*: Muller's *Treatiſe on the antient inhabitants of Ruſſia*: Robertſon's *Hiſtory of Charles V.*: *Genealogical hiſtory of the Tartars*, by Abulgaſi baatur khan: *Hiſtory of Denmark*, by Mallet: Puffendorf's *Introduction to the hiſtory of the principal nations of Europe*, &c.

GEOGRAPHY alſo, which is ſo intimately connected with hiſtory, made ſuch aſtoniſhing progreſs under the late reign, that the ruſſian empire, which, for the greater portion of it, but thirty years before, belonged to the terra incognita, now

now forms a more accurate and ſtated rubric in the knowledge of the globe, than many other european countries. So early as the year 1765, the empreſs ſet on foot an expedition of able men for ſurveying the country and the frontiers, who began their labours the following year in the government of Moſco, and proſecuted them with ſo much diligence, that now greatly above the half of the inhabited parts of Ruſſia is as exactly ſurveyed as the private poſſeſſion of a careful land-owner can poſſibly be. This wiſe and beneficial undertaking, beſides the infinitely great advantage it has been of to the ſecurity of property, and in eaſing the adminiſtration of government, has alſo been of ſervice to the improvement of the country. About this time the empreſs ordered the academicians to travel, whereby the phyſical, ſtatiſtical, œconomical, and moral condition of this huge and hitherto unknown country, was properly inveſtigated and deſcribed. The voyages of diſcovery which Catharine appointed for the promotion of the geographical knowledge of the eaſtern and northern oceans; the orders and inſtructions which ſhe diſpatched to her governors, for inquiring into the ſtatiſtical condition of the provinces; the reiterated cenſus of the people which ſhe ordained; the tables which ſhe cauſed

to

to be made out and ſent in to the academy of ſciences, of the relative proportion of births and deaths, of the prices of proviſions, of cuſtoms and duties, of imports and exports; the publicity which ſhe gave to the reſults of her political regulations: all theſe, and many other inſtitutions, are ſo many great ſervices performed in behalf of geography and ſtatiſtics, and awakened a general zeal for theſe ſciences. Hence the numerous and invaluable charts and maps of the whole empire. Among the literary productions which owe their origin to theſe exertions, the foremoſt place belongs of right to the *Journals of the academical travels*. Original works on the ſubject of ruſſian ſtatiſtics have multiplied ſo very much for ſome time paſt, that we can here only notice the titles of a few of the earlier writings of this kind. For inſtance, major general Pleſchtſcheyeff's *Statiſtical ſurvey of the ruſſian empire*; a work, which in a few ſheets contains ſuch a quantity of important facts and ſtatements, partly new and partly rectified, that the article of the ruſſian empire, in all books of geography, muſt henceforth aſſume an aſpect entirely new. Geography has likewiſe been a great gainer by the academician Suyeff's *Journey from St. Peterſburg to Kherſon, Taurida, and Conſtantinople*, which german induſtry will probably render

render uſeful to foreigners, if it be not already done. Admiral Tſchitſchagoff's *Voyage to the Frozen-ocean* is known by a tranſlation in Germany. Ruban's *Geographical, political, and hiſtorical accounts of Little Ruſſia;* Anonymous *Topographical remarks on the provinces of White Ruſſia;* the prieſt Irodionoff's *Hiſtorical and geographical account of the city of Toropetz and its diſtrict*, &c. belonging to the claſs. Georgi's *Hiſtorical and geographical deſcription of St. Peterſburg.* A great number of ſingle tracts on geographical and ſtatiſtical ſubjects on the ruſſian empire, are found diſperſed in calendars and periodical publications. In this reſpect the calendar of the academy of ſciences is particularly abundant, to which Pallas, Guldenſtædt, Oſeretzkofsky, &c. have contributed, and continue to contribute, important and intereſting memoirs. — Accounts too of foreign countries, and travels in them, at times appear, though but rarely; ſuch as, Pleſchtſcheyeff's *Travels from Paros to Syria;* the *deſcription of the Archipelago and the barbarian coaſt*, by brigadier Kotoftzoff, publiſhed by Tumanſky, &c. Aſſeſſor Hackmann's two books, of *general* and of *ruſſian geography*, for the uſe of the ſuperior ſchools, are introductions of great utility, and the more valuable, as there was nothing of the kind before. — Among the number

number of geographical tranſlations, Buſching's *Great geography* ſhould be mentioned as that of the moſt importance.

The numerous collections of geographical maps which Ruſſia has of late years produced, are famous abroad, not leſs for their intrinſic worth, as they are moſtly formed on new diſcoveries, than for their beauty and neatneſs. Bachmeiſter's ruſſian bibliotheque, mentions by name above ſixty of theſe collections, many of which conſiſt of ſeveral, and ſome of from twenty to forty ſheets. Under this head, fall the two ſpecial maps of the Moſco circle, which were prepared from the ſurveying expedition; one of them is 50 arſhines in dimenſion; the other is printed on two ſheets imperial, by the imperial academy of ſciences: the general map of the ruſſian empire, according to the new diviſion, by prince Væſemſky; 8 ſheets, in length $3\frac{3}{4}$ arſhines, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ in height: the academy's Atlas of the ruſſian empire, begun in 1767, every province forming a diſtinct map. — The grand Atlas of the government of Kaluga is the moſt excellent of this kind, an undertaking which, out of France, has not perhaps its equal in any country. This Atlas is likewiſe one of the fruits of the ſurveying expedition, and conſiſts of three parts: 1. The general map of the Kaluga government.

2. Twelve

2. Twelve plans of the twelve capital towns of the circles; illuminated plot of each town, with their ſlobodes, gardens, &c. 3. Eight-and-twenty plans of the twelve circles. On theſe plans are marked arable land and foreſt, roads, and bridges. Every poſſeſſion, belonging either to a corporation or a private perſon, is incloſed and marked with letters or numbers referring to the deſcription belonging to the atlas. Where the limits are ſtill litigable they are noted by a jagged line. When the poſſeſſions are ſo ſmall as not diſtinctly to give room for a number, they are drawn larger on a piece of cartridge paper annexed. On the general map eight verſts go to an engliſh inch, in moſt of the plans of towns 50, in the reſt 100 fathoms, in the plans of the circles two verſts, in the enlarged pieces 200 fathoms. The magnificence with which this extraordinary undertaking is executed is detrimental to its utility. The deſcription that accompanies it, in eleven columns, which refer by correſponding numbers to the atlas, contains: 1. The number on the plan of the diſtrict. 2. The name of the property and that of its poſſeſſor. 3. The number of dwellings. 4. The number of perſons of both ſexes. 5. The areal dimenſions of the dwellings. 6. Of the arable land. 7. Of the meadow-land. 8. Of

the woodland. 9. Of the waſte land. 10. The total amount of the ſtatements one to nine. 11. Brief œconomical remarks. Whenever litigations concerning boundaries are ſettled, a particular appendix is to ſhew to whom the boundary was decreed.—The proſecution of this work, which is one of the grandeſt monuments of Catharine's reign, was continued to the time of her death with great ſpirit.

Her inſtitution of the normal ſchools in all the provinces of the empire, occaſioned the compoſition of a great number of elementary books for the lower orders of them, and others for the ſuperior. It would be impoſſible to enlarge upon all theſe, and to enumerate them would be tedious: but, as a ſpecimen of the religious inſtruction ordained to be taught in theſe ſchools, we will juſt mention the contents of the *ſhort catechiſm*; with queſtions under the text, to which the ſcholar is to make his own anſwers. 1. Of the being of God, of his eſſence, and of the veneration which we owe him. 2. Of evangelical faith. "Faith is a ſincere acceptation of the goſpel. The doctrine of faith is contained in the holy ſcriptures, but abridged in the creed of the firſt council of Nice." This creed is inſerted at length. Then follow explanations of each of the twelve articles into which it is divided.

3. Of

3. Of the divine law. Contains the decalogue, with an explanation. 4. The Lord's prayer, with illuſtrations. This, the ten commandments, and the Nicene creed, are in ſclavonian *, but the book itſelf is in ruſs, though printed in ſclavonian characters. At the end is, "reviſed by the holy ſynod."—*A ſhort religious hiſtory of the church of the old and new Teſtaments.* The hiſtory of the latter relates particularly to the eaſtern, and afterwards to the greek-ruſſian church.—The ſpirit of this book may be judged of from the following paſſage: "To the misfortune of the human race, theſe diviſions † were of long duration; but by the arrival of enlightened times, when reigning princes applied themſelves to promote the general welfare of the people, and the teachers of the church began from the holy ſcriptures (inſtead of uſing them as heretofore had been done, to the oppreſſion of other religious parties) to preach the pure doctrine of Chriſt, namely, genuine chriſtian love, concord, and gentleneſs towards all mankind, with thoſe generous duties by which the virtuous chriſtian and the good moral citizen are diſtinguiſhed: the chriſtian church has been enabled to ſurvive to the preſent her calm and proſperous age, in which we may eſpecially ſee

* The church language.

† In the 9th and 16th centuries.

the ſubjects of the wiſe Catharine, and we cannot ſee it without pleaſure, living together in ſuch union as if they were all adherents, not only to the ſole chriſtian religion, but even to one ſole party of it, and praiſing the only God in various tongues."

Such a great number of proper ſchool-books on the neceſſary and uſeful ſubjects of ſocial and civil life, might ſuffice the nation for a long time. Nevertheleſs, tranſlations of foreign pædagogical works ſtill meet with conſiderable ſucceſs. We now read in the ruſſian language, beſides many other compendiums, the excellent *Eſſai d'education nationale*, by Chalotais, Rollin's *Manière d'enſeigner les belles-lettres*, the *Magazin des enfans*, and others.

The CULTURE OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE has, ſince Lomonoſoff's time, taken a quite new direction, giving room to hope for its attaining a great degree of excellence. It is not only reduced to principles and rules, ſecuring it from the deſtruction of its proper ſtructure; but, by the example of good authors, has received ſuch abundant materials for its enrichment and elevation, from its ſource the ſclavonian, that it has no need to borrow from any other terms and expreſſions for any conceivable idea. That ſo many foreign words, particularly in faſhionable con-

converſation, are in circulation in the ruſſian language, proceeds from that heteromania, which adheres to every nation, that receives a part of its culture from foreign countries. Excepting the Germans, there is certainly no people which employs itſelf ſo much in the literature and the languages of foreign nations. The proofs of this are ſo common, that it would be needleſs to adduce examples. But it is worth while juſt to take notice that the Ruſſians even cultivate languages that are not known to the reſt of Europe. The tranſlator Yaerig is maintained by the academy of ſciences to ſtudy the mongolian language among that people. An author lately deceaſed, Leontieff, of the college of foreign affairs, is the tranſlator of a great number of philoſophical, political, and hiſtorical writings from the Chineſe. As a proof how important the culture of this language may be to the increaſe of the knowledge we have of the Chineſe, we ſhall only mention a couple of theſe tranſlations. *Su-ſchu-ghyei*, i. e. *four books, with expoſitions.* The firſt book of the philoſopher Confucius.—*Account of the war of the Chineſes with the Sengorians*, from 1677 to 1698; with a preface by the emperor Kang-ſi.—*Deſcription of the towns, revenues*, &c. *of the chineſe empire*, from the geography of the empire, printed at

Pekin under the preſent khan Kyan-Lun. An authentic piece of Chineſe ſtatiſtics! &c. Attempts have been alſo made gradually to bring under certain rules the languages and dialects, hitherto only ſpoken in the vaſt circuit of the ruſſian empire, as may be ſeen by what was done by a grammar of the votiak and tſcheremiſſian languages. There is no want of books in Ruſs for learning moſt of the european tongues, eſpecially ſuch as are ſpoken in the vicinity of the empire. Dictionaries likewiſe multiply with progreſſive accuracy; among the later undertakings of this kind, the great *french and ruſs lexicon*, publiſhed by Weitbrecht, is conſidered as the beſt.

ANTIENT LITERATURE indeed does not, upon the whole, meet with ſo good a reception as in many other countries; but it is by no means neglected. Several pieces are annually publiſhed not only in the latin but in the greek language; the learning of them is held to be uſeful and neceſſary, and people of high diſtinction cauſe their ſons to be taught at leaſt one of them. Of the principal writers of antiquity tranſlations already exiſt; and for this too the country is indebted to the late empreſs. She appointed, in the year 1768, the yearly ſum of 5000 rubles for ruſs tranſlations of good books,

books, and commiſſioned the counts Shuvaloff and Orloff, and the privy-counſellor Koſitzky, to diſpoſe of it properly. It was at the beginning declared that preference would be given to verſions of greek and roman authors; and it was attended with this good effect, that ruſſian literature obtained an advantage in this branch which it muſt otherwiſe have been long without. A ſhort view of thoſe that were done under this encouragement will not be diſpleaſing to the reader.

GREEK. Plato's works, by Sidorofsky and Pakhomoff. Heſiod's works, by Fryaſinofsky. Homer's Batrachomyomachia, by Ruban; in proſe, with ſome explanatory mythological remarks *. Homer's Iliad, by Yekimoff; in proſe bordering on the ſclavonian. Lucian's Dialogues of the dead, by Sidoroffsky and Pakhomoff. Diodorus Siculus, by Alexèyeff: reckoned a very good one. Characters of Theophraſtus, after the latin of Caſaubon and the french of Bruyere. ROMAN: Tacitus on the antient Germans, by Svyetoff. Ovid's Metamorphoſes, by the late Koſitzky, member of the academy of ſciences, in proſe; much eſteemed. Terence,

* It had been already tranſlated in the time of Peter the Great, by a certain Kopiefsky, and publiſhed with Æſop's fables at Amſterdam.

by Kvoſtoff, Golovin, Richmann, Florinſky, Moijenkoff, and Sinſky; after le Monnier's edition, becauſe, amongſt other advantages, it is commendable for a very probably juſt diſtribution of the ſcenes. Horace's Odes, by Popofsky. Cicero de finibus, by Poſnikoff; conſolatio; de natura deorum, by Komoff. The poetical paſſages are turned into ruſſian verſe. Julius Cæſar. Velleius Paterculus. Valerius Maximus. Suetonius. Virgil's Georgics. Virgil's Æneis, by Yekimoff, and by the college-counſellor Petroff, (a famous poet, as we ſhall ſee farther on,) in alexandrines. The latter is held to be of the firſt excellence; with this objection, however, that it becomes, at times unintelligible by too copious an intermixture of ſclavonian turns and phraſes: the author has therefore lately brought out a ſecond edition, in which he has corrected much of this exuberance of erudition.

The age of Catharine, which we have ſeen ſo favourable to the muſes in general, was accordingly a ſhining epocha for poetry. On the death of Lomonoſoff and Sumarokoff ruſſian literature ſeemed reduced to an orphan ſtate; theſe two happy geniuſes, who announced the day-ſpring of a refined taſte, appeared likewiſe to carry it with them, together with their fame, into the grave. The path which they had purſued

ſued remained for a time untrod; but this dark interval was of no long duration. Never, in any period of ruſſian literature, has there been ſuch a liſt of ſucceſsful, and for the moſt part eminent poets to be ſeen, as in the preſent.

The faireſt epocha of Sumarokoff's poetical career happened in the reign of Catharine the Second *. For this reaſon, and becauſe with him the firſt æra of ruſſian poetry cloſed, we cannot abſolutely paſs him by without ſome farther notice. Happy in every walk in which his venturous genius choſe to roam, but happier nowhere than in the dramatic ſphere, Sumarokoff ſeemed ordained to leave behind him a model in every claſs of his country literature. A lively but controlled fancy, a refined taſte formed by the ſtudy of antient and modern writers, and a language purely claſſical, are the characteriſtic properties of his productions. Inſtances would indeed be more convincing than this general judgment; but even if it were poſſible to deliver the peculiar beauties of the original in a language ſo different in its whole frame and texture, yet the plan and deſign of our work

* He died in the year 1777, at Moſco, a knight of the order of St. Anne. The late empreſs, beſides many other teſtimonies of her favour, ſettled upon him a yearly penſion of 2000 rubles.

allow

allow us not to give ſpecimens from the greateſt maſter-pieces of this poet, his dramatic works.

But however honourable the niche poſſeſſed by Sumarokoff's muſe in the temple of Fame, great is likewiſe the number of thoſe who emulate the neareſt ſtation beſide his buſt. Among the poets of this claſs, on whom poſterity can already paſs their ſentence, muſt be reckoned the lately deceaſed Kniæſhnin, who proved himſelf in ſeveral kinds of poetry a ſucceſsful follower of his excellent predeceſſor. The dramatical works with which he has enriched the theatre, unite great beauties of compoſition with a light harmonious verſification, and a profound knowledge of the riches and ſtrength of the language. To the moſt famous productions of this claſs are to be reckoned his tragedy of Dido and his comedy of the Boaſter. A great number of miſcellaneous poems, among which are ſeveral very well imagined epiſtles and ſatires; the tranſlation of the Henriade in blank verſe, and a variety of eſſays in proſe, ſecure to him the renown of one of the beſt writers of his nation. —Among the poets now living none ſeem to have a juſter claim to immortality than the chevalier Derſchavin, not leſs reſpectable as a ſtateſman, patriot, and philanthropiſt, than as an amiable

amiable author. The moſt unwearied diligence in his great and important ſphere of action leaves him ſtill ſufficient leiſure to beſtow ſome moments in ſporting with the virgins of Helicon, and in embelliſhing the literature of his country with the products of his original and highly-cultivated talents. Propriety, delicacy, and elegance, form the characteriſtics of this author: the harmony of his diction, and the melody of his flowing numbers are inimitable; he has diſcovered the means of combining the moſt luxuriant imagination with the pureſt taſte.

Willingly would we indulge our readers with ſome proofs of what we advance; for tranſlations of almoſt all his works are in being: but how coarſe and corporeal is the ſhell through which the fine ſpirit of the original ſhould appear! No language that we know is ſo full of inſuperable difficulties to the tranſlator as the ruſſian. It is its peculiar characteriſtic throughout to render a free imitation almoſt impoſſible; and as to a faithful verbal tranſlation, it muſt frequently happen that the moſt elegant turn or the moſt ſublime expreſſion becomes flat and vulgar, not to mention the great loſs of the verſification. A beautiful little piece of his, called the Dream of Murza, has been attempted in german by M. Kot-

M. Kotzebue *; but the difficulties we ſpeak of are not ſo ſucceſsfully ſurmounted as could be wiſhed.

Among the poets who have acquired a great and laſting reputation, the chevalier Kheraſkoff muſt not be forgotten. His heroic poems, the Roſſiad and the battle of Tſcheſmè, are the firſt productions of the nation in the epic claſs that have been attended with ſucceſs; but this poet has been not leſs fortunate in other departments of literature. He has written tragedies and comedies which ſtill, long after their firſt appearance, keep their place upon the ſtage, and are always ſeen with pleaſure. In his later years he alſo publiſhed odes, fables, and eclogues. His laſt performances are Numa Pompilius, an hiſtorical romance, in the manner of Telemachus; Cadmus and Harmonia, a poetic tale, &c. All theſe works are in high eſteem in Ruſſia.—His ſpouſe Elizabeth Kheraſkoff has likewiſe acquired a name as a poeteſs, by heroic elegies and anacreontic odes.

M. Petroff, librarian to the empreſs, began his career in 1775, as a narrative poet; but his very firſt attempts were crowned with an applauſe which none, ſince Lomonoſoff, have ever enjoyed,

* Of late well known in England by the tranſlations that have appeared of ſome of his plays.

to an equal degree. A bold and tumid fancy, a figurative ſtyle, and a compoſition which diſcovers cultivation and taſte, advantageouſly diſtinguiſh his muſe. Familiar with the great models of antiquity, he not only made them his ſtudy, but even the aim of his literary purſuit. His poetical tranſlation of the Æneis, already mentioned, is by judges accounted a maſter-piece; but the author, not ſatisfied with it, has ſubmitted it to a reform entirely new. A long reſidence in England inſpired him with a fondneſs for britiſh literature, which animated him to the difficult undertaking of tranſlating the Paradiſe Loſt of Milton into his mother tongue; which, though in proſe, has juſtly added to his reputation. A few years ago he collected and publiſhed a volume of his lyric poems.

The ruſſian drama has lately ſuffered a ſignal loſs in the death of M. van Vieſin *. In this poet, who promiſed to become the Moliere of the ruſſian theatre, were combined all the qualities requiſite to that end. In his beſt pieces, the Brigadier, and the Spoilt child, a well-ſupported intereſt prevails, an animated dialogue and a regularity which ſeldom meet together in perform-

* The name is dutch, but the family has been ruſſian for ſeveral generations.

ances

ances of ſimilar nature. He laſhes prevailing prejudices and brilliant vices with admirable keenneſs: his ſubjects being national, have for that reaſon the greater effect. He is likewiſe the elegant tranſlator of the Marcus Aurelius of Thomas, and the Joſeph of Bitaubé. — The ſenator Yelaghin, while employed on the ruſſian hiſtory, occaſionally added to his literary reputation as a poet. Beſides ſeveral poems and ſatires, he is principally remarkable as the tranſlator of ſome plays from de la Touche. — Koſadavleff, an agreeable writer, whoſe pieces are remarkable for an eminent degree of delicacy and elegance, has tranſplanted the Wilhelmina of Thummel, with ſuch uncommon ſucceſs, into the ruſſian ſoil, that it were much to be wiſhed that he would make a like preſent to his country of the travels through the ſouthern provinces of France. — The privy-counſellor Krapovitzky, the ſenator Alexèy Nariſhkin, lieutenant-general Potemkin, the chamberlain Muravyeff, the ſenator Rjefsky, lieutenant-general Sviſtunoff, the privy-counſellor Lukin, and ſeveral perſons of high ſtation, have done honour to their country as poets in various branches. — Among the tranſlators of poetical works, Bogdanovitch has greatly ſignalized himſelf by his Pſychè of la Fontaine;

Fontaine; Karabanoff, by his Alzire of Voltaire; Dmitrieff, by his fables from la Fontaine; Sakharoff, by his Telemachus and the Death of Abel; Popoff by his Jeruſalem delivered, the Eſſay on Man *, and ſeveral others. Kapniſt and Kriloff have acquired fame in the excurſions of ſatire, Oſſipoff has publiſhed an Æneas traveſty, in the manner of Blumauer, and nationalized all the foreign alluſions. — But we muſt here break off, as this liſt, which might be greatly enlarged, without ſome acquaintance with the poetry itſelf, can have no intereſt for foreign readers.

Good proſe-writers of the various claſſes have been already mentioned in ſuch numbers, that it is needleſs to ſay any thing more of them. No department of ruſſian literature is ſo richly furniſhed as that of ROMANCE. The greater part of them conſiſts of tranſlations, which cannot always, either in regard to ſelection or language, be deemed models of perfection. The dulleſt productions of the german preſs, which have long been forgotten at home, here often receive a ſecond exiſtence, and help to corrupt the national taſte. That very excellent exceptions are here to be made, is naturally under-

* It is a ſingular incident, that this moſt excellent tranſlation of Pope's eſſay, ſhould be made by a Popoff.

ſtood.

ſtood. To theſe belong the tranſlations of Humphry Clinker by Sakharoff; of Gil Blas, by Tieploff; of Joſeph Andrews, of Tom Jones, of Robinſon Cruſoe, the Sorrows of Werter, Florian's Numa Pompilius, Diable Boiteux, Nouvelles, and ſeveral others.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS have hitherto made no progreſs with the public. Of all that have been ſet up, few have been continued for more than three or four years. The Peterſburg magazine, begun in 1778, was the firſt undertaking of the kind; but ſoon dropped for want of encouragement. A ſimilar fate befel the monthly academical accounts, begun by the academy of ſciences in 1779, and was to contain extracts from new publications, new inventions, &c.; it laſted only till 1781. "The aſſiſtant to the lovers of the ruſſian language," a journal conducted by very celebrated writers, fell to the ground at the concluſion of the firſt year. Among thoſe that ſtill proceed, are the "Monthly tracts" commenced by the academy in 1786, and the "Ruſſian mercury" by Kluſchin and Kriloff, are the moſt known.

We here cloſe our view of ruſſian literature, during a period of about twenty years. Incomplete as the materials were from which it is drawn

drawn up, yet we have been obliged purpoſely to leave ſome of them unuſed, to avoid falling into a tireſome detail, which, even with the greateſt prolixity could not be made very inſtructive to the reader. The concluſion from this ſlight ſketch ariſes ſo naturally of itſelf, as to ſtand in need of no farther expoſition.

The foreigners at St. Peterſburg, eſpecially the Germans, form a literary public of themſelves, among whom are authors of great reputation and merit. The academicians Æpinus, Pallas, Georgi, Fuſs, Herrmann, &c. have acquired ſuch a celebrity abroad by uſeful writings, diſcoveries, and the like, beyond their academical ſphere; that it is ſufficient to have cited their names. Schroeter in agriculture, the chemiſt Lovitz, the mineralogiſt Renovantz, the phyſicians Möhrenheim, Uhden, and others, are certainly not unknown to any readers of the learned world, any more than the names of Nikolai, Klinger, Soltau, (the tranſlator of Hudibras,) and madam von Krook, are to the lovers of the belles lettres.

Of the ſtate of the ARTS in St. Peterſburg no circumſtantial account can be expected in a book of this kind. A general outline will be quite ſufficient.

The gallery of the academy of arts is open to the public once a year for a fortnight, in the ſummer, and contains a good collection of antiques, works of art, and paintings. Among the moſt valuable are ſix grand hunting-pieces by Rubens, a preſent from the late ducheſs of Kingſton. It would be to no purpoſe to attempt giving a complete liſt of the artiſts here: the principal of them in each claſs are:

PAINTERS. Groth, a German; one of the beſt painters of animals now living. — Hune, a German; hiſtory-painter, a diſciple of Tiſchbein, Torelli, Mengs *. — Knappe, a German; plants and animals: by this artiſt, whoſe works are in high eſtimation, are the drawings in the Flora Roſſica. — Meys, from Hennegau; hiſtory †. — Tiſchbein, a German; court-architect, ſcene painter, and inventor of decorations: he painted the curtain at the opera-houſe. — Mayr, a German; in the ſervice of the academy of ſciences: deſigner and painter. — Stahn, a German; arcaniſt to the imperial porcelain manufactory, and an eminent porcelain painter. — Mettenlei-

* The taking poſſeſſion of Taurida, a large allegorical picture.

† The journey of the empreſs to Taurida: which is also engraved.

ther,

ther, a Swiſs; famous in landſcapes. — Gonzago, an excellent painter of decorations. — Levitzky, a Ruſſian, profeſſor of the academy; a very celebrated portrait-painter. — Koſloff, a Ruſſian, ſome years ſince deceaſed, of the academy, director of the tapeſtry manufactory; a hiſtory painter of ſingular merit.

ENGRAVERS. Skorodumoff, a Ruſſian; formerly a pupil of the academy: his works are as well known as his name. — James Walker, an Engliſhman, in the ſervice of the court: among his excellent performances are, the empreſs in her travelling dreſs, prince Potemkin, general Lanſkoï, admiral Greig, and others. — Schlepper, a native of St. Peterſburg. — Pellerini, an Italian.

STATUARIES. Rachette, a Frenchman: profeſſor of the academy, modeller to the porcelain manufactory *. — Schubin, a Ruſſian †. — Moſchaloff, a Ruſſian; artiſt in caſting of metals ‡. — Ivanoff, a Ruſſian §. — Gardeyeff, a Ruſſian. — Frediani, an Italian. — Khailoff, a Ruſſian ‖.

* The Cybele in count Bezborodko's gardens; buſts of Leonhard Euler, &c.

† Buſts of the imperial family.

‡ The Farneſe Hercules, and the Flora at Zarſkoeſelo.

§ The baptiſm of Olga.

‖ Had a ſhare in caſting the ſtatue of Peter the great.

ARCHITECTS. Koſeloff, a Ruſſian *. — Guarenghi, an Italian, and one of the firſt artiſts in his department †. — Feldten, of St. Peterſburg ‡. Staroff, a Ruſſian; architect to the court §. — Trombara, an Italian ||. — Charles Cameron, an Engliſhman; court-architect for Zarſkoeſelo ∂.

MUSICIANS. The leaders of the chapel choir, Aſtarita, Cimaroſa, Martini.—Violins: Tietz, a Peterſburger; Cannobi, Maſener, Chandoſchkin.—Harpſichord: Palſcho, a Dane; Heſsler and Bauerſchmidt, two admired performers, eſpecially on the organ.—Behr, famous on the clarinet.—Mareſch, a Bohemian, one of the inventors of prince Potemkin's famous hunting-muſic.—Pratſche had the greateſt

* The palace of Pella, belonging to the grand-duke Alexander Pavlovitch.

† The new exchange, the court theatre, and a number of other grand edifices.

‡ St. Catharine's, St. Anne's, and the armenian churches, the Lombard, and ſeveral other ſtructures.

§ The Pantheon, the new church in the Nefsky monaſtery.

|| The new Yæger-corps, the new court-ſtables.

∂ The imperial baths in thoſe gardens, ſuperior to [illegible] thing of the kind in Europe; the hanging gardens, the chineſe town, and many others.

ſhare

ſhare in ſetting the ruſſian popular ballads to notes.

GARDENING.—Joſeph Buſh, an Engliſhman; court-gardener at Zarſkoe-ſelo. — Gould, an Engliſhman; the imperial gardens at Peterhoff, thoſe of the Tauridan palace, and chief-gardener to prince Potemkin.—Gem-cutters, medalliſts, &c. are Gaſs, Zollner, Konig, Lamoni, Radi, Judin, &c.

It appears from this ſhort view, in which it is probable that ſeveral famous names may be omitted, that St. Peterſburg has a conſiderable number of excellent artiſts to produce. The liſt of the mechanical arts would not be leſs copious if it were poſſible for us to give it complete. The following account however muſt ſuffice:

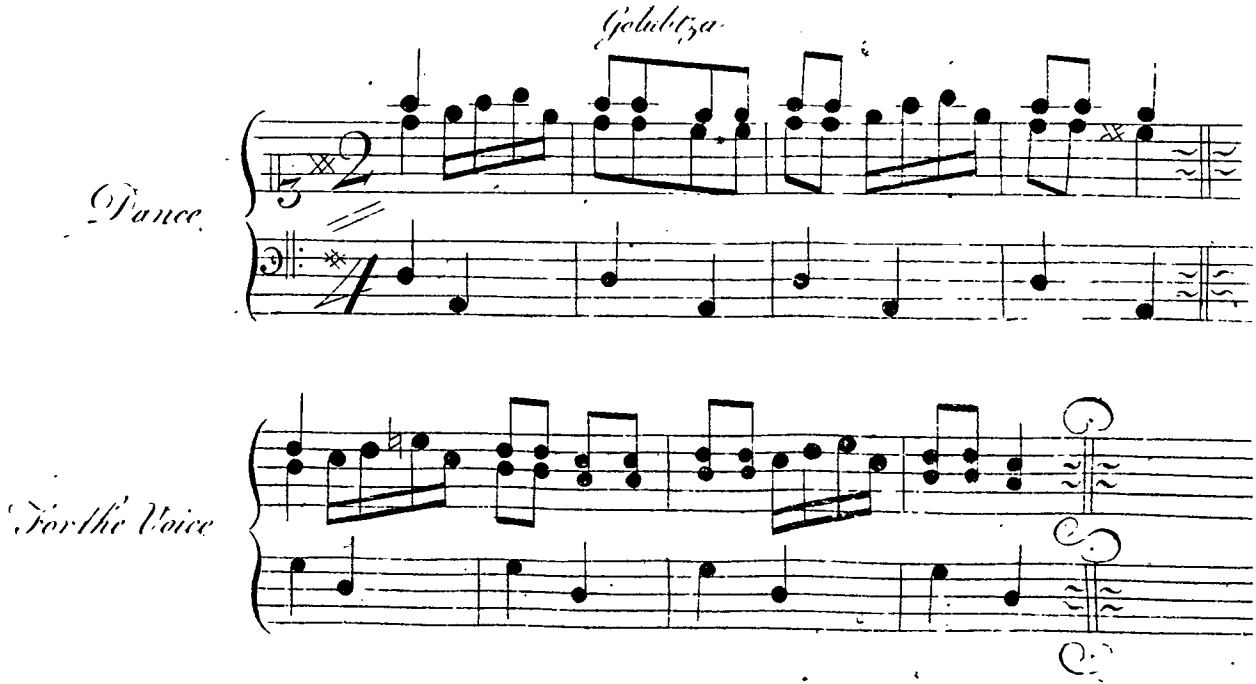
Muſical inſtruments of all kinds are made here in the greateſt perfection. The moſt famous artiſts in this way are Kirſchnek, Gabram, Vachter, for violins; Jackſon, &c.—Mathematical and phyſical inſtruments, are, indeed, imported from England; but likewiſe Keſſareff a Ruſſian, Morgan an Engliſhman, make them in great numbers.—Koſchenkoff, a Ruſſian, makes excellent ſurgical inſtruments.—As a mechanic we ſhall only notice Kulibin, the Ruſſian, the greateſt genius in this particular that the nation

has ever produced: a boor by birth, and by profeſſion a meal-chandler; without direction, without ſcientific attainments, he unfolded his talents of himſelf, and the firſt performance by which he endeavoured to attract notice was a curious piece of clock-work. Catharine the Second reſcued him from his miſerable condition, placed him in the ſtate for which he was ſo conſpicuouſly intended by nature, and honoured him with a golden medal which he wears ſuſpended to a blue ribbon about his neck. He is at preſent mechanician to the academy of ſciences. In this ſituation he formed the bold deſign of conſtructing a bridge of timber acroſs the Neva; and to this end prepared a model, in length the fifteenth part of the breadth of the river: it conſiſts of horizontal balks, of which the upper one always projects ſomewhat beyond that beneath, till they meet together at the middle of the bridge, and thus form only one great arch: the model, indeed, in point of ſtrength remained firm under every kind of trial; but in the execution the bridge would have the height of a tower, and the reparation of it would be attended with great difficulties.

As a PRINTER, Schnoor, among many others, is a very remarkable perſon. By talents and induſtry, this artiſt, through numberleſs difficulties has

has made ſuch progreſs in his profeſſion, that his ruſſian types are uſed in many other printing-houſes, and imitated by other founders. He was appointed by the empreſs to eſtabliſh a tartarian preſs, and ſucceeded ſo well in his commiſſion, that the learned of that nation give the preference to his letters beyond all the ſpecimens that have been produced in England, Holland, Venice, Rome, and Vienna, as moſt reſembling the common written character. Schnoor procured them to be drawn by a mullah, or tartar prieſt, and two expert punch-cutters were employed about the punches till they were pronounced by the mullah to be properly finiſhed. In this manner were formed the punches for three ſorts of characters, the krim-tartar, the kazan-tartar, and the arabic. In the year 1785, this printing-office conſiſted of four preſſes, and the firſt produce of them were the tranſlations of the ordinances for the adminiſtration of the government and a Koran.

*** That the following Page might not be entirely vacant, we have ſupplied it with the muſic of the popular air of the Ruſſians.


Golubtza
Dance
For the Voice

APPENDIX

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

No. I.

MANIFESTO *publiſhed by Order of the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *upon the Occaſion of her Troops entering the Peninſula of the* KRIMEA, *the* KUBAN, *and the Iſland of* TAMAN; *which Countries are hereby declared to be annexed to her Imperial Majeſty's Dominions.*

BY the grace of God, we Catharine the Second, empreſs and ſole monarch of all the Ruſſias, &c. &c. &c.

Our laſt war againſt the ottoman empire having been attended with the moſt ſignal ſucceſſes, we had certainly acquired the right of re-uniting to the territories of our empire the Krimea, of which we were in poſſeſſion: we, however, heſitated not to ſacrifice that, with many other conqueſts, to our ardent deſire of re-eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity, and of confirming the good underſtanding and friendſhip between our empire and the ottoman porte. This motive induced us to ſtipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, whom we had reduced by our arms; hoping to remove for ever, by this means, every cauſe of diſſenſion, and even of coolneſs, between Ruſſia and the ottoman porte, expoſed too often to theſe inconveniences by the form of government which then ſubſiſted among the Tartars.

Great

Great as were our ſacrifices and efforts for realiſing thoſe hopes, they were ſoon, to our great regret, conſiderably diminiſhed. The reſtleſſneſs natural to the Tartars, fomented by inſinuations, the ſource of which is not unknown to us, cauſed them eaſily to fall into a ſnare laid by foreign hands, which had ſowed amongſt them the ſeeds of diſturbance and confuſion to ſuch a degree, as to induce them to labour for the weakening, and even the total ruin of an edifice which our beneficent cares had erected for the happineſs of that nation, by procuring them liberty and independence, under the authority of a chief elected by themſelves. Hardly was their khan eſtabliſhed according to this new form of government, before he ſaw himſelf deprived of all authority, and even obliged to deſert his country, to give place to an uſurper, who would again ſubject the Tartars to the yoke of a dominion, from which our beneficence had releaſed them. The greater part of them, as blind as they were ignorant, had ſubmitted to that uſurper; the reſt, thinking themſelves too weak to reſiſt, would infallibly have yielded to his yoke; and thus we ſhould have loſt the fruits of our victories, and the principal recompence for the ſacrifices which we willingly made at the laſt peace, if we had not inſtantly taken under our immediate protection ſuch of the well-diſpoſed Tartars, who, prizing the bleſſings of their new political exiſtence, lamented their being forced to ſubmit to the uſurper who had expelled their lawful khan. By thus effectually protecting them, we furniſhed them with the power and the means of chooſing a new khan, in the room of Sahib-Gheray, and of eſtabliſhing an adminiſtration analogous to this ſtate of affairs. It was to attain this end that our military forces were put in motion; that a conſiderable body of our troops were ordered, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, to enter the Krimea, where they were ſubſiſted at our expence, and obliged to exert the power of our army for the ſupport of the good cauſe, in order to recall ſuch of the Tartars as were eſtranged from it by their revolt. The public is not ignorant that a rupture between

Ruſſia

Ruſſia and the ottoman porte had very near enſued upon this occaſion; but, thanks to the divine aſſiſtance, we diſpoſed matters in ſuch a manner, that the ottoman porte again acknowledge the independence of the Tartars, and the validity of the election of Schaghin-Gheray, their lawful ſovereign. Notwithſtanding all the inconveniences above-mentioned, as long as we were ſuſtained and animated by the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the repoſe neceſſary to the advantage and preſervation of good neighbourhood with the ottoman empire, we regarded the Krimea according to the tenour and letter of the treaties, as a free and independent country, confining ourſelves ſolely to appeaſing the troubles which prevailed amongſt them; from our love of peace we found in this conduct a ſufficient recompence for the great expences incurred by it; but we were ſoon undeceived in this reſpect by the freſh revolt occaſioned in the Krimea laſt year, the encouragement of which always flowed from the ſame ſource. We have been obliged in conſequence to have recourſe again to conſiderable armaments, and to cauſe troops to enter into the Krimea and the Kuban, whoſe preſence is become indiſpenſable for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the adjacent countries. The ſad experience of every day demonſtrates more clearly, that if the ſovereignty of the ottoman porte in the Krimea was a perpetual ſource of diſcord between our two empires, the independence of the Tartars expoſes us to ſubjects of contention, no leſs numerous and important, ſince the long ſervitude to which that people have been accuſtomed, has rendered the greater part of the individuals incapable of valuing the advantages of the new ſituation procured for them by that independence of which we ſought to give them the enjoyment; and which, laying us under the neceſſity of being always armed, occaſions not only great expences, but alſo expoſes our troops to inevitable and continual fatigues.

The efforts they made to extinguiſh the flame of diſcord, in ſuccouring the well-intentioned of that nation, expoſed them to the violences of the ſeditious and ill-intentioned, whom

whom we were willing to leave unpuniſhed, in order to avoid even the ſhadow of an act of ſovereignty, ſo long as we could cheriſh the leaſt hope of at length reſtoring good order, and preventing by this means the eſſential intereſts of our empire from being injured.

But to our great regret all theſe meaſures, dictated ſolely by our love of humanity, tended only to bring upon us loſſes and damages, which we have the more ſenſibly at heart, as they affected our ſubjects. The loſs in men is not to be appreciated; we will not attempt to eſtimate it; that in money, according to the moſt moderate calculations, amounts to upwards of twelve millions of rubles. To theſe particulars is to be added another of the utmoſt importance, both in its object and with regard to its conſequences: we have juſt been informed, that the porte has begun to lay claim to the exerciſe of ſovereignty in the tartar dominions, by ſending one of their officers, at the head of a detachment of troops, to the iſland of Taman, who has even proceeded to cauſe the officer to be publicly beheaded, who was ſent to him by the khan Schaghin-Gheray, with a commiſſion only to inquire of him what were the motives for his arrival in that iſland; and what evidently proves the nature of the miſſion of this commandant of the troops is, that he made no difficulty in declaring openly to the inhabitants of Taman, that he looked upon them as ſubjects of the porte. This deciſive, though unexpected ſtep, convincing us of the inutility of the ſacrifices we had made upon the laſt peace, annuls in conſequence the engagements we had contracted, with the ſole intention of firmly eſtabliſhing the freedom and independence of the Tartars, and ſufficiently authorizes us to enter again into the enjoyment of thoſe rights which we had lawfully acquired by conqueſt; the more ſo, as it is the only means remaining for us to ſecure hereafter a ſolid and permanent peace between the two empires. Animated therefore with a ſincere deſire of confirming and maintaining the laſt peace concluded with the porte, by preventing the continual diſputes which the affairs of the Krimea produced,

our duty to ourſelf, and the preſervation of the ſecurity of our empire, equally demand our taking the firm reſolution to put an end, once for all, to the troubles in the Krimea; and for this purpoſe we re-unite to our empire the peninſula of Krimea, the iſland of Taman, and all the Kuban, as a juſt indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained, and the expences we have been obliged to incur in maintaining the peace and welfare of theſe territories.

In declaring to the inhabitants of thoſe countries by the preſent manifeſto, that ſuch is our imperial pleaſure, we promiſe them, for us and our ſucceſſors in the imperial throne of Ruſſia, that they ſhall be treated upon an equality with our antient ſubjects; and that, in taking them under our high protection, we will defend againſt all people their perſons, their eſtates, their temples, and the religion they profeſs; that they ſhall enjoy the moſt abſolute liberty of conſcience, without the leaſt reſtriction, in the public exerciſe of their worſhip and their ceremonies; and that not only the nation in general, but alſo each individual in particular, ſhall participate in all the advantages enjoyed by our antient ſubjects. But we alſo expect from the gratitude of our new ſubjects, that, touched with theſe favours, they will be ſenſible of the value of this fortunate revolution, which removes them from a convulſed ſtate of diſturbances and diſſenſions to one of entire ſecurity and perfect tranquillity under the protection of the laws; and that, ſtriving to imitate the ſubmiſſion, zeal, and fidelity of thoſe who have long had the happineſs of living under our government, they will render themſelves worthy of our imperial favour, beneficence and protection. Given at our imperial reſidence of St. Peterſburg, the 8th of April, in the year of Grace 1783, and in the 21ſt year of our reign.

(Signed with her imperial majeſty's own hand)

CATHARINE. (L. S.)

No. II.

LETTER *from the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS *to his* PRUSSIAN MAJESTY.

MY advantageous ſentiments reſpecting the houſe of Pruſſia, ſentiments of which I have given efficacious proofs, permit me to hope for the ſame on their part. I expect it the more, as I have ever been convinced of their reciprocal affection. The war which is preparing between the emperor of the Romans and the Hollanders excites the immediate attention of the cabinet of Berlin, of which the Dutch endeavoured by all ſorts of intrigues to ſecure the acceſſion. Your wiſdom acknowledges that the pretenſions of the emperor are equally juſt and moderate. Nature herſelf hath granted to the auſtrian Low Countries the uſe and advantage of the river in diſpute; Auſtria alone, by virtue of the law of nature and nations, is entitled to an excluſive right to the uſe of the river in queſtion. So that the equity and diſintereſtedneſs of Joſeph II. can only impart this right to other people, it belonging excluſively to his ſtates. The ſentiments of Auſtria merit eſteem and attention, but the avidity of the Dutch, and the judgment which they permit themſelves to aſſume on account of the treaty of Munſter over the houſe of Auſtria, are notorious and blamable in every reſpect.

Nothing can be alleged with foundation in favour of Holland, therefore ſhe merits not the aſſiſtance of any foreign power. The conſequences which theſe republicans are drawing upon themſelves by their obſtinacy, muſt be ſubmitted to the moderation of the emperor alone. I am firmly reſolved to aſſiſt his pretenſions with all my land and ſea forces with as much efficacy as if the welfare of my

own

own empire was in agitation. I hope that this declaration of my ſentiments will meet with the ſucceſs which our reciprocal friendſhip deſerves, and which hath never been interrupted.

CATHARINE.

No. III.

MANIFESTO *of the* SUBLIME PORTE *againſt* RUSSIA, *dated the* 11*th of* ZILEADE, *the Year* 1201 (*the* 24*th of Auguſt* 1787).

THE peace concluded between the Sublime Porte and the court of Ruſſia in 1187 (1774) was chiefly made for the repoſe and tranquillity of their reſpective ſubjects, yet the court of Ruſſia has not ceaſed to raiſe and maintain pretenſions capable of diſturbing the good harmony which that peace ought to procure: it has even proceeded ſo far as to ſeize on the Krimea, a proceeding directly oppoſite to the conditions agreed on to ſerve as the foundation of the treaty of Kainardgi. It was ſtipulated in the inſtrument then given on both ſides, that there ſhould be no farther diſcuſſion between the two empires, and that they ſhould enjoy a perfect peace. It was ſpecified in the capitulations that they ſhould avoid for the future all intrigue whatever, and all plots ſecret or public; yet the court of Ruſſia has raiſed up prince Heraclius, who was furniſhed with a diploma of inveſtiture as vaſſal of the ſublime porte. Ruſſian troops have been placed in Tifflis; they have declared themſelves ſupreme over the ſaid prince, and from that moment the diſorder in Georgia and our adjoining frontiers has been general. When we alleged that this proceeding was a formal infraction of the treaties, it was maintained to the contrary.

contrary. It was expreſsly agreed on, that the Otchakovians ſhould have the free and unlimited extraction of the ſalt-works, which always belonged to the inhabitants of that frontier; yet they have always met with a number of impediments, and experienced every ſort of ill-treatment from the Ruſſians; and when they reclaimed the execution of the conventions, the court of Ruſſia has conſtantly refuſed it. The conſul of that court has ſeduced the waywode of Moldavia, who has the rank of a prince; he favoured his flight, and when the ſublime porte reclaimed him, the ruſſian envoy replied, his court would not deliver him up; a refuſal directly oppoſite to the treaties. The ruſſian court has ſhewn as bad deſigns by giving what turn it pleaſed to many ſimilar things. It has corrupted the ſubjects of the ſublime porte, by eſtabliſhing conſuls in Valakhia, Moldavia, in iſles and places where the preſence of thoſe officers was uſeleſs, and even prejudicial to the true believers. It has invited to its eſtates the ſubjects of the ſublime porte, and employed them in its marine and other ſervices. It has eſpecially entered into the interior diſpoſition of our adminiſtration, by ſollicíting either the recall or puniſhment of governors, judges, vaſſals, and of all the officers not in their intereſt, and even of the paſha of Georgia and the princeſs of Valakhia and Moldavia. Every one knows how generouſly the porte behaved to the ruſſian merchants: — they carried on their trade in the ottoman ſtates with ſafety and liberty, and might go wherever they pleaſed; for which reaſon we expected the ſame indulgences for the ſubjects of the ſublime porte. Such were our conventions when the ruſſian court wanted to monopolize all the commerce, and exacted a duty far greater from the ſubjects of the ſublime porte than from other powers. When the ſubjects of the ſublime porte wanted to recover their debts in the ruſſian ſtates, they met a thouſand obſtacles; not being able to go where they wanted, they were obliged to return without their due; many even have diſappeared without our knowing what became of them. When the mer-

chant

chant veſſels of the ſublime porte wanted, either through ſtreſs of weather or want of water, or any other urgent neceſſity, to go on board a ruſſian ſhip, the Ruſſians kept them off with their guns. They have likewiſe ſometimes fired on our veſſels from Soghudgiak. The court of Ruſſia wanted to underſtand the article relating to prince Heraclius, amongſt other articles of a great deal leſs importance, and gave notice in a miniſterial manner, by its envoy to the ſublime porte, to furniſh a common inſtrument for all theſe objects; if not, it had ordered general Potemkin to march to our frontiers with 60 or 70,000 men to exact the execution of all the articles, and that the empreſs was to come thither herſelf. This notice was an open and formal declaration of war. The order given to general Potemkin to repair to our frontiers, at the head of ſo many troops, is analogous to the proceedings of the court of Ruſſia, with regard to the uſurpation of the Krimea. If the Ruſſians remain maſters of it, the porte cannot hope torema in in ſecurity for the future, and the will always have ſome bad deſigns to fear. Theſe conſiderations engaged the porte to ſhew to the ruſſian envoy the deſire they had for the Krimea to be eſtabliſhed on its antient footing, and to make a new treaty to cement friendſhip between the two empires. The envoy anſwered, he could not make theſe propoſitions to his court, and that if he were to do it, he foreſaw no good could reſult from it. He rejected or eluded the articles which contained our complaints, and formally anſwered, that his court would not renounce the Krimea. That for all theſe reaſons, and others, either ſecret or public, which it is impoſſible to enumerate, the ſublime porte is obliged to declare war, in conſequence of which ſhe has publiſhed this manifeſto to the reſpectable court of France, to inform it of the reſolution ſhe has taken to go to war with Ruſſia. The ſublime porte ſubmits to motives herein contained to the equity of her friends.

MANIFESTO *of the* COURT *of* RUSSIA *againſt the* SUBLIME PORTE, *dated* PETERSBURG, *Sept. 13th*, 1787.

THE court having received the news of the impriſonment of M. Bulgakoff, miniſter of Conſtantinople, and the declaration of war made by the porte, can no longer avoid a rupture, and in conſequence has publiſhed a manifeſto, the tenor of which is as follows:

The troubles which have inceſſantly agitated the public repoſe and tranquillity eſtabliſhed between the ruſſian empire and the porte, by the peace of Kainardgi, are too recent to require recapitulation. Suffice it to ſay, that ſince the concluſion of that peace, unto the preſent moment, the porte has ſhewn, in all her conduct, the moſt manifeſt want of faith, and a diſpoſition to render the eſſential ſtipulations then made illuſive.

Though the court of Ruſſia is furniſhed with a multitude of proofs of this truth, which ſhe reſerves for a more particular detail to be publiſhed hereafter, ſhe will at preſent cite the facts, the moſt recent, which have brought on the unexpected developement ſo contrary to the pacific ſyſtem which ſhe followed moſt willingly on all occaſions. She flattered herſelf to have fixed an immoveable baſis for peace by the declaratory convention of Analy Cavack, concluded in 1779, by the commerce, and in particular by the tranſaction reſpecting the peninſula of the Krimea, the end of which was, as then demonſtrated, not to extend the frontiers of the empire, but rather to terminate the diſorders and depredations continually made by the people of the peninſula, by ſubjecting them to a police which would make them reſpect the laws, and keep up harmony and good intelligence with the frontiers of both ſtates. Such were the ſincere intention and views of the court of Ruſſia, which ſhe was at great pains and trouble to accompliſh.

After having reconciled differences of ſo delicate and important a nature, every thing ſeemed to promiſe a durable peace;

peace; but affairs were hardly thus happily compromiſed and adjuſted, on the faith of treaties and engagements the moſt ſolemn and ſacred, when the next turkiſh miniſtry, which ſucceeded to that under which all theſe negotiations had paſſed, ſhewed diſpoſitions diametrically contrary to their ſpirit and tenor. Ill-founded pretenſions ſoon aroſe reſpecting the exportation of ſalt, which had been granted by treaty to the inhabitants of Otchakof. Ruſſian conſuls were denied entrance into ſome places of their nomination; and as if it had been proved that objects of this nature could not ſuffice to effect the rupture in view, protection was publicly permitted to the invaſions of the Leſghis and Tartars of Kuban; the former of which hoſtilely attacked the ſtates of tzar Heraclius, the acknowledged vaſſal of the empreſs; and the latter penetrated into the frontiers of Ruſſia, where they robbed, pillaged, and carried off whatever was not defended by the troops ſtationed in thoſe parts.

The empreſs, conſtant to her plan of moderation which her humanity and love of peace had made her adopt, upon receiving the above advices, contented herſelf with calling upon the turkiſh miniſtry to reſpect the treaties, and demanding in conſequence ſatisfaction for ſuch breaches of faith and peace: but all her remonſtrances were fruitleſs, and anſwered with arrogance and diſreſpect. In the mean time, her principles remained unaltered. Being miſtreſs of her choice of means, ſhe ſtill preferred once more the way of negotiations, and laid open to the emperor, her ally, the ſtate of her affairs, and accepted the good offer of the king of France to mediate between herſelf and the porte; ſhe made her pretenſions known to them both, and theſe monarchs declared the juſtice and equity of them. In ſhort, to neglect nothing that might preſerve ſo valuable a bleſſing as the peace of her people, ſhe took occaſion, when in the neighbourhood of the turkiſh ſtates, during the memorable journey which ſhe had but lately finiſhed, to call her miniſter at the porte, and examine him touching the differences which had ariſen, and the means moſt efficacious

for an accommodation of them all. In this view, and in full confidence of the reſpect which the Turks would ſhew on their part for mutual and ſolemn engagements then ſubſiſting, ſhe ſent back her miniſter to Conſtantinople. Upon his return he was immediately ſummoned to a conference, at which, inſtead of the points being reſumed which were in agitation before his departure, and acquieſcing in the demands of Ruſſia, a new turn to affairs was given, and pretenſions ſtarted; the firſt of which was contrary to ſtipulations made by treaty, and the others derogatory to the dignity of the empreſs, or rather hurtful to the intereſts of the empire.

After the turkiſh miniſtry had thus broken through the limits expreſsly ſtipulated, they thought they might then at once take off the maſk, and have diſcovered the deſign which, in all probability, was long harboured, ſince they declared to the ruſſian miniſter, that the porte conſidered itſelf bound only by the treaty of Kainardgi; and as the acts which followed it were but the effect of complaiſance, ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to adhere to them longer than ſuited her convenience. A term was fixed for receiving a categorical anſwer from the ruſſian miniſter to the demands and pretenſions communicated to him. The miniſter proteſted againſt the injuſtice, the indecency, and impoſſibility, in ſo ſhort a time, of complying with ſuch a requiſition; he was not heard, not even on the ſubject of the complaints ſtated before this time, and for which he had demanded ſatisfaction. All that he could obtain was the promiſe of another conference, which alſo took place, but at which the ſame demands and pretenſions were repeated, without adding any thing more except a vague promiſe of the ſatisfaction he had demanded.

When the news of theſe two conferences came to the empreſs, ſhe did not abandon herſelf to the diſcontent and reſentment which were juſtifiable; ſhe thought ſhe might remain ſpectatreſs of the attempt which a want of delicacy and circumſpection, ſufficiently common on the part of the turkiſh

turkiſh miniſtry, had made them hazard; meanwhile the ſequel has proved that it was a plan long formed, and going to be put immediately in execution. In theſe ſentiments her imperial majeſty was willing to crown all the former proofs given of her moderation and diſtance in thought from the conſequences which ſuch a critical ſituation of affairs preſaged, by ſome condeſcendence on her part to certain of the pretenſions of the porte, and for this purpoſe orders were diſpatched to prince Potemkin, when ſuddenly ſhe learned that the porte, without waiting for the expiration of the term fixed by herſelf, had ſummoned M. de Bulgakoff to a conference on the 6th (16th), and after propoſing to him to ſign an act by which the treaty of commerce and the tranſaction concerning the peninſula of the Krimea were to be annulled, upon his refuſal peace was declared to be broken, and himſelf ſent to the caſtle of Seven Towers, where, in contempt of the rights of nations, he remains a priſoner at this moment.

Such a proceeding preſents every reflection that can ariſe on the ſubject. The porte has thought fit to unite perfidy with the moſt inſulting attack. She omits nothing to make manifeſt the ſtrong deſire that has been long felt to break a peace, which was granted in a manner the moſt generous and noble. Provoked by a conduct ſo offenſive, the empreſs ſees herſelf obliged unwillingly to take up arms, as the only means remaining of maintaining her rights, which ſhe has acquired with ſo much loſs of blood, and revenging her wounded dignity. Entirely innocent of all the evils attendant on the war now ready to be kindled, ſhe has a right to depend upon divine protection and the ſuccours of her friends, as alſo upon the devout prayers of all chriſtians, for her triumph in a cauſe of juſtice and ſelf-defence.

No. IV.

NOTE *delivered the 18th of June, by the* RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR *at* STOCKHOLM, *to the* SWEDISH MINISTRY.

IN conſequence of the various objects on which the under-written envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of the imperial court of Ruſſia has lately conferred with his excellency count Oxenſtiern, he has now the honour to preſent to him a ſuccinct recapitulation of the ſame in the preſent note.

Whatever may have been the ſurpriſe of the empreſs my ſovereign, when ſhe was informed of the armaments carried on in Sweden, her imperial majeſty, not ſeeing any juſt motives which could occaſion them, reſolved to be ſilent as long as thoſe motions ſhould be confined to the interior parts of the kingdom. But being appriſed of the motives alleged by the ſenator count Oxenſtiern to the miniſter of Denmark, and which he, in conſequence of the intimacy ſubſiſting between the two courts, communicated to the under-written, her imperial majeſty has reſolved to break ſilence, and given orders to the under-written to enter into the following explanations with his Swediſh majeſty's miniſters.

During the twenty-ſix years of her reign, the empreſs has never ceaſed to give conſtant teſtimonies to the king, and to the whole Swediſh nation, of her wiſh to cultivate the moſt perfect harmony and good neighbourhood, ſuch as at the leaſt peace was eſtabliſhed between the two ſtates; if, therefore, in the midſt of the repoſe which her empire enjoyed from its other neighbours, her imperial majeſty has never conceived the leaſt idea of diſturbing or altering, in any ſhape, the order of things, it would be arguing againſt every degree of probability to attribute it to her now, when ſhe finds

finds herſelf engaged in a war which has been unjuſtly excited againſt her by a powerful enemy, and to which ſhe cannot give too much attention. Provoked in this manner to diſplay all the means which ſhe holds from Providence, to repel the attack of her enemy, ſhe has not failed to make an amicable communication of it to all the chriſtian powers, and particularly obſerving this conduct when ſhe reſolved to arm a fleet to ſend into the Archipelago; which intention the under-written did, by her orders, communicate to the Swediſh miniſters. All theſe diſpoſitions and preparations being therefore viſibly and ſingly directed to the circumſtance in which Ruſſia found herſelf, were in no wiſe of a nature to alarm any neighbour, that did not nouriſh ſome ſecret intention to multiply her embarraſſments, and take advantage of them. But admitting for a moment that the court of Ruſſia had intimated ſuch deſigns that of Sweden, however contrary they are to the faith of the treaties which bind them, ſound reaſoning, as well as the intereſt of the former, would have confined all her meaſures to prevent their effects, and not to provoke them; and, in fact, ſuch as prudence dictated, and were adopted, after the rumours which were ſpread on all ſides of the armaments carrying on in Sweden, are reduced to a trifling reinforcement of the ruſſian troops in Finland, and the deſtination of the uſual ſquadron that annually cruiſes in the Baltic to exerciſe the ſeamen; a cuſtom to which Sweden has never given any attention, or occaſioned any umbrage.—Nevertheleſs, her armaments were daily advancing and increaſing, without the court of Stockholm thinking proper to give any formal notice of it to the court of Peterſburg; and then at laſt they were prepared. The ſenator, count von Oxenſtiern, in the name of the king, did not fail to declare to the miniſter of a court cloſely allied to Vienna, and conſequently, it may be preſumed, not bound to conceal it from us, that thoſe preparations were directed againſt Ruſſia, on a ſuppoſition that Sweden was threatened to be attacked by her.

In this ſituation, the empreſs, on her ſide, has as readily ordered the under-written to declare to his Swediſh majeſty's miniſtry, and to all thoſe who have any ſhare in the adminiſtration, that her imperial majeſty could not give them a more ſolid proof of her pacific diſpoſitions towards them, and of the intereſt ſhe takes in the preſervation of their tranquillity, than by aſſuring them, on her imperial word, that all the oppoſite intentions which ſome might impute to her, are void of all foundation; but if aſſurances ſo formal and ſo poſitive, joined to arguments ſo plain and convincing, are not ſufficient to reſtore calmneſs and tranquillity, her imperial majeſty is reſolved to await the event with that confidence and ſecurity which the purity and innocency of her intention afford her, as well as the powerful means which the Almighty has put into her hands, and which ſhe has never employed but for the glory of her empire and the happineſs of her ſubjects.

Stockholm, June 18, 1788.

(Signed) COUNT ANDRE RAZUMOFFSKY.

ANSWER *of the* COURT *of* STOCKHOLM *to the foregoing* RESCRIPT.

HIS majeſty could not avoid being ſurpriſed when he ſaw, in the note delivered on the 18th of June, by M. le comte de Razumoffſky, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of Ruſſia, the manner in which it was attempted to diſtinguiſh between the king and the nation; and the aſſurances given by the empreſs of her diſpoſition in their favour, and of the intereſt which ſhe takes in the preſervation of their tranquillity.

Although in this language the king recognizes principles often divulged by the court of Ruſſia in other countries, his majeſty cannot reconcile ſuch friendly ſentiments on the part of the empreſs, with an inſinuation that tends directly to draw a diſtinction between him and his people; and, firmly

firmly reſolved never to admit ſuch a principle, he cannot believe that a declaration of that nature was ordered to be made to him by the court of Ruſſia. The king is rather willing to impute it to their miniſter only, reſiding at his court; but, ſurpriſed as well as hurt at the language it contains, which is at once irregular and hoſtile to the tranquillity of his kingdom, he cannot after this moment acknowledge the comte de Razumoffſky as envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at his court, reſerving himſelf, until his arrival in Finland, to anſwer the empreſs of Ruſſia on the other articles of the declaration, by his miniſter at Peterſburg. Meanwhile his majeſty finds himſelf obliged to require the departure of the comte de Razumoffſky, by announcing to that miniſter that he can no longer treat with him, as having in his written memorial offended both the principles of the ſwediſh government and failed in the reſpect that is due to the perſon of the king.

The attention wherewith the king has honoured this miniſter ever ſince he knew him, ſtrongly marks the regret felt by his majeſty in commanding his departure; and nothing leſs than the powerful reaſons, of his dignity being perſonally offended, and the peace of his dominions rendered liable to be diſturbed by thoſe principles it has not ſcrupled to avow, could have influenced his majeſty to deſire the removal of a perſon who has ſuch claims upon his regard, that, in ſignifying his intentions to the comte de Razumoffſky, (whom he no longer acknowledges a public miniſter,) his majeſty allows him a week to make the neceſſary preparations. The king has alſo given orders for ſhips, and every other accommodation that can render his paſſage to St. Peterſburg convenient, that being the only mark of attention which the preſent circumſtances leave it in his power to ſhew to the comte de Razumoffſky.

COPY *of a* CIRCULAR NOTE *delivered by the* COURT *of* SWEDEN *to all the foreign* MINISTERS, *dated* STOCKHOLM, *June* 23, 1788.

WHILE the king, anxious to preſerve a good underſtanding with all his neighbours, neglected nothing in the cultivation of the ſame with the court of Ruſſia; he has been aſtoniſhed to obſerve the little effect which his ſentiments have produced on the miniſter of that power; whoſe language, for ſome months paſt, in his public conduct, ſtill appears to bear the marks of that ſyſtem of diſſenſion which his predeceſſors tranſmitted to him, and which they have perpetually laboured to extend. The king was always willing to deceive himſelf on this point, and wiſhed he could doubt the exiſtence of the efforts made by the ruſſian envoy, to induce the ſwediſh nation to return to thoſe errors which led it aſtray during the time of anarchy, and to diſſeminate anew, in the heart of the ſtate, that ancient ſpirit of diſcord, which Heaven and his Majeſty's paternal care have happily extinguiſhed; till at length count Razumoffſky, by his note of the 18th of June, has extinguiſhed all thoſe doubts the king was ſtill deſirous of preſerving on this ſubject. Amidſt the declarations of the empreſs's friendſhip for the king, with which the note is filled, this miniſter has not heſitated to appeal to others beſides the king. He addreſſed himſelf to all the members of adminiſtration, as well as to the nation itſelf, to aſſure them of the ſentiments of his ſovereign, and how much ſhe has their tranquillity at heart. This Sweden, however, derives ſolely from its proper union; and the king could not but ſee, with the greateſt ſurpriſe, a declaration expreſſed in ſuch terms, diſcerning therein but too much of the policy and language uſed by that miniſter's predeceſſors; who, not content with ſowing diviſions among his majeſty's ſubjects, wanted to ſet up other authorities in oppoſition to the legitimate power, and to under-

undermine the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by calling in aid of their aſſertions witneſſes which the form of government cannot recognize. It was in vain that his majeſty ſought to reconcile the aſſurances of the friendſhip of the empreſs of Ruſſia on one ſide, with the appeal to the ſubjects of Sweden on the other. Every miniſter being charged to declare the ſentiments of his maſter, ought not, nor can announce to them any other than the ſovereign by whom his credentials have been accepted. All other authority is unknown to him, and every other witneſs ſuperfluous. Such is the law, ſuch is the conſtant practice in all the courts of Europe, and this rule has never ceaſed to be obſerved, unleſs when by captious inſinuations the only aim has been (as heretofore in Sweden) to embroil matters, to confound every thing, and again to ſet up thoſe barriers which form the diſtinction between the nation and their ſovereign. Thus hurt, in a way moſt nearly affecting his dignity, and no longer hearing from count Razumoffſky the language of a miniſter, hitherto charged to convey the friendly ſentiments of the empreſs; but, at the ſame time, unable to conceive, that expreſſions ſo contrary to the fundamental laws of Sweden, and which, by dividing the king and the ſtate, would render every ſubject culpable, were preſcribed to him, the king chooſes rather to attribute them to the private ſentiments of the ruſſian miniſter, of which he has given ſufficient indication, than to the orders of his court. In the mean time, after what has paſſed, after declarations as contrary to the happineſs of the kingdom as to the laws and reſpect due to the king, his majeſty can no longer conſider count Razumoffſky in the quality of a miniſter, and finds himſelf obliged to require his departure from Sweden, confiding to his ambaſſador at the court of Ruſſia the anſwer to the other points which have been juſt communicated.

Nothing leſs than ſo direct an attack on the dignity of the king, on the part of count Razumoffſky, could induce his majeſty to inſiſt on the departure of one, whom he has honoured

honoured with particular regard. But ſeeing himſelf reduced to ſuch neceſſity with regret, his majeſty in conſequence of his former good-will, has endeavoured to ſoften the diſagreeable nature of this event, by the care he takes in regard to count Razumoſſſky's departure, and by the attention that will be paid to the time, and to his accommodation in his voyage to St. Peterſburg.

His majeſty wiſhing that the diplomatic body ſhould be acquainted with the foregoing occurrences, the ſenator count Oxenſtiern has the honour of communicating the ſame.

(Signed) OXENSTIERN.

DECLARATION *of the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS, *againſt the* KING *of* SWEDEN, *June* 30, 1788.

IT was towards the end of the laſt winter that the armaments by ſea and land began to ſhew themſelves in Sweden. — Whiſpers were purpoſely circulated in the kingdom, as if Ruſſia meditated an attack. In proportion as theſe preparations advanced, and as it was believed they had made an impreſſion on ſome national ſpirits, the cabinet of Stockholm began to extend rumours of the ſame kind, even to foreign courts. The empreſs has the ſatisfaction to learn that theſe inſinuations have every where failed of their aim. In truth, the courts of Europe are too enlightened to believe that Ruſſia, after having for ſo long a time maintained a pacific ſyſtem in regard to Sweden, had choſen to depart from it in the moment when ſhe was engaged in a war ſo ſerious as that in which the ottoman porte had involved her.

In the mean time, the empreſs, attentive to every thing which paſſed in a place ſo adjacent to her territories, judged it neceſſary, on the information and advice which ſhe received, not to neglect to take meaſures of precaution. But, anxious to avoid every thing which might give umbrage or excite alarm, ſhe contented herſelf with ordering to Finland a ſlight reinforcement of troops, and with eſtabliſhing in this

this province magazines proportioned to their number, and indiſpenſably neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence. In fine, repoſing on the innocence and rectitude of her intentions, on the religious obſervance of the perpetual treaty ſubſiſting between the empire of Ruſſia and the kingdom of Sweden; and above all, not knowing of any one ſubject of diſcuſſion, open or concealed, between the two courts — the amicable correſpondence, on the contrary, continuing as uſual between them — ſhe had undoubtedly every right to think, that, great as might be the ambition, the uneaſineſs, and the envy of the imperial powers, the true motives that could impel the ſwediſh monarch to make war on her muſt be repreſſed by the reſpect of good faith, which ought to actuate the hearts of ſovereigns even more than of other men; by the impoſſibility of giving any colour of equity to the ſcope which he wiſhed to give to his paſſions; and, in fine, by the obſtacle, equally ſtrong, that of the ſolemn compact he had made with his people, not to undertake any war without aſſembling, conſulting, and obtaining the conſent of his ſubjects.

Nothing could prove more effectually the ſatisfaction which ſhould have been placed in her imperial majeſty's various aſſurances, than the reſolution which ſhe took of detaching from the fleet deſtined for the Archipelago a ſquadron of only three ſhips, which ſhe ſent to ſea in the beginning of this month, notwithſtanding the poſitive advices ſhe had of all the ſwediſh fleet being cruiſing in the Baltic. Theſe ſhips, three days after their departure from the port of Cronſtadt, fell in, off the iſle of Dago, with the ſwediſh fleet, which detached a frigate, the captain of which came aboard of the ſhip of the vice-admiral Vanderſeer, who commanded this little ſquadron. The captain of the frigate announced to the vice-admiral the preſence of the duke of Sudermania, the king's brother, the commander of the ſwediſh fleet, and required the ſalute. The vice-admiral replied, that by the 17th article of the treaty of Abo, no ſalute could take place between the ruſſian and ſwediſh fleets; but

but that reſpecting, in the perſon of the duke of Sudermania, the couſin-german of the empreſs, and the brother of the king of Sweden, he had no difficulty in rendering to theſe diſtinctions all the honours that were due. He then ordered a ſalute with thirteen guns, and ſent an officer on board the duke's ſhip to pay his compliments, and to announce to him at the ſame time, that it was to his perſon only that the honours were addreſſed. The anſwer of the duke of Sudermania was, that although he was not ignorant of the tenor of the convention made between the courts of Sweden and Ruſſia, in regard to the ſalute, he would not accept of that which was to be rendered, unleſs it was given to the ſwediſh flag, as he had received the moſt preciſe orders from the king his brother to make that flag reſpected in every place, and on every occaſion.

The empreſs had hardly time to make her complaints on the injuſtice and irregularity of this proceeding to the court of Stockholm, when ſhe was informed of that other, ſtill leſs expected, of the diſmiſſion of her miniſter from the ſwediſh court and territories. The pretended reaſons of this meaſure are expoſed in the declaration of the king made to the miniſters of foreign courts. Theſe reaſons are not calculated to impoſe on the moſt unenlightened, and they therefore require no anſwer; but one cannot help obſerving, that it is the firſt example of the kind by which a ſovereign aſſured his ſubjects of the pacific and benevolent ſentiments he entertained towards them.

In the mean time the empreſs, reſolved to continue to the laſt in the principle of moderation ſhe had profeſſed, confined her reſentment of this proceeding to the retaliation which ſhe was naturally authoriſed to uſe in regard to the miniſter of the king of Sweden. She ſignified to him to quit her court in the ſame ſpace of time which had been fixed for her miniſter at Stockholm. The only difference in the proceeding was, that all falſe and inſidious imputation was carefully avoided. — This difference has been eſtabliſhed and demonſtrated indeed by the good faith which has

accom-

accompanied the cauſe of the empreſs, and the breach of faith which has marked the whole conduct of the king of Sweden.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſcenes which threatened an almoſt inevitable war, the empreſs was placed to cheriſh hopes that the amicable explanations which the ſwediſh monarch had himſelf promiſed the foreign powers, might yet tend to preſerve the good harmony and neighbourhood, which no one reaſon of ſtate on either ſide had a tendency to interrupt. But this hope is totally vaniſhed. She learns that on the 21ſt or 22d of this month the troops of the king of Sweden, having fallen haſtily on the frontiers of Ruſſia, have carried off the money depoſited in ſeveral cuſtom-houſes, have penetrated to the environs of Nieſlat, and have even opened the ſiege of its caſtle.

It is by a ſeries of violent proceedings (of which every one infringes on the rights the moſt generally received among civilized nations) that the king of Sweden, without having complained of one grievance againſt Ruſſia, has at length puſhed to the uttermoſt the moderation of the empreſs, and has obliged her to have recourſe to the only remedy which is left her, of repelling force by force. It is with regret that ſhe iſſues her orders to the commanders of her forces by land and ſea. In making known this reſolution, as well as the motives that have provoked her to it, to the friendly powers, ſhe proteſts to them, that the king of Sweden is alone reſponſible to God, to the world, and to his own people, for all the calamities to which his ambition and injuſtice may give riſe.

EXHORTATION *of the* KING *of* SWEDEN *to his* SUBJECTS.

We Guſtavus, by the grace of God king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, to all our faithful ſubjects health! commending them to the care of the Almighty, with our favour and particular good-will.

Seeing ourſelves again attacked by enemies on another ſide of our kingdom, and obliged to arm, in order to defend our ſtates and the independence of our dear country, no leſs than your lives, your property, your liberties, and your welfare, we doubt not that our dear ſubjects will with the arms aſſume the courage of their anceſtors, with firmneſs and unanimity to repulſe the enterpriſes of our enemies — more eſpecially as ourſelf ſhall ſet them the example, like our illuſtrious predeceſſors, to defend, to the very laſt man, the independence of a kingdom, that boaſts ſo remote an antiquity. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not conceal from you, my ſubjects, all the means which the enemy wiſhes to employ, in order to ſubjugate a people, whoſe valour they have often experienced to their detriment.

As they cannot hope to effect our common ruin ſolely by open force, they are ſtriving to excite diſcord, as well between yourſelves, as between you and us, fomenting jealouſies by ſecret intrigues, and provoking quarrels, in the full perſuaſion that a ſwediſh king, united with the ſwediſh nation, could not eaſily be brought under their yoke. We exhort you, then, in the name of the Almighty God, as the true and only defender of kings and ſtates, that you will not liſten to treacherous inſinuations, but that you will conſtantly perſevere in the fidelity which we have a right to expect from you, and which, during ſixteen years of our reign, we have no leſs experienced than deſerved. We have alſo to give you the happy information, that the principal powers in Europe now in alliance with each other, which intereſt themſelves in the independence of the ſwediſh nation, are at this preſent moment endeavouring to accompliſh our wiſhes in the reſtoration of peace; which we hope, with the help of the Almighty, will, by our joint efforts, ſoon be eſtabliſhed. We truſt, that ſo ſoon as that ſalutary end ſhall be attained, we ſhall have the ſatisfaction to meet our ſubjects, united in the ſtricteſt bonds of concord, in a general diet of the ſtates, where we may offer up

our

our thankſgivings to the Supreme Being, for his protection vouchſafed to us, and to our kingdom. In the meanwhile, we recommend you to his all-powerful hand: and we remain in the utmoſt affection towards you all, of whatſoever rank, with all our royal favour and good-will.

(Signed) GUSTAVUS.

Done at Carlſtadt, Sept. 26, 1788.

(and lower)

HERM. VON LAASTBONE.

DECLARATION, *and* COUNTER-DECLARATION, *between* DENMARK *and* SWEDEN.

DECLARATION.

HIS daniſh majeſty has ordered the under-ſigned to declare, that although he complies with the treaty between the courts of Peterſburg and Copenhagen, in furniſhing the former with the number of ſhips and troops ſtipulated by ſeveral treaties, and particularly that of 1781; he yet conſiders himſelf in perfect amity and peace with his ſwediſh majeſty: which friendſhip ſhall not be interrupted, although the ſwediſh arms ſhould prove victorious, either in repulſing, defeating, or taking priſoners the daniſh troops now in the ſwediſh territories, acting as ruſſian auxiliaries under ruſſian flags. Nor does he conceive that his ſwediſh majeſty has the leaſt ground to complain, ſo long as the daniſh ſhips and troops now acting againſt Sweden do not exceed the number ſtipulated by treaty; and it is his earneſt deſire, that all friendly and commercial intercourſe between the two nations, and the good underſtanding between the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, remain inviolably as heretofore.

(Signed) COUNT DE BERNSTORF.

Delivered to the baron de Sprengporten, his ſwediſh majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Copenhagen, Sept. 23, 1788.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

THE declaratory note delivered by the count Bernſtorf to the under-ſigned, in which his daniſh majeſty conceives that his ſwediſh majeſty cannot have any ground of complaint, as long as the daniſh ſhips and troops merely act as auxiliaries to Ruſſia, is a doctrine which his ſwediſh majeſty cannot altogether reconcile with the law of nations and rights of ſovereigns, and againſt which his majeſty has ordered the under-ſigned to proteſt.

Nevertheleſs, to prevent an effuſion of blood between the ſubjects of the two kingdoms, and particularly at the moment when a negotiation has begun to reſtore perfect peace and tranquillity in the north of Europe, which affords a pleaſing proſpect of a general pacification; his ſwediſh majeſty, from motives of a love of peace, waves entering into a ſpeculative diſcuſſion, whether or not there be a cauſe or ground of complaint, on his ſide, and reſts perfectly ſatisfied with the aſſurances contained in his daniſh majeſty's declaration, that his daniſh majeſty has no hoſtile views againſt Sweden, and that the friendly and commercial intercourſe between the ſubjects of both kingdoms, and the good underſtanding between the two courts, ſhall remain uninterrupted.

His ſwediſh majeſty puts the ſtrongeſt faith and utmoſt confidence in what Mr. Elliot, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of his britannic majeſty, has repreſented to him on this important occaſion.

His majeſty, therefore, to prevent the horror of war, and the calamities impending over the two nations; anxious to behold peace and union reſtored between them; embraces with ſatisfaction his daniſh majeſty's declaration, and particularly as it will facilitate the negotiation for a general peace which is happily begun through the mediation of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Pruſſia, and the good ſucceſs of which is the greateſt object of his majeſty's ambition, and which his majeſty has fully-declared to the aforeſaid Mr. Elliot, provided the defeating of the ruſſian auxiliaries is

not

not conſidered as hoſtilities againſt his daniſh majeſty, agreeable to the declaration delivered by count Bernſtorf.

(Signed) BARON DE SPRENGPORTEN.

Dated Stockholm, October 6, 1788, and delivered to the Count Bernſtorf at Copenhagen.

COPY *of a* DECLARATION *delivered to the Confederated* STATES *of* POLAND *by the Pruſſian Miniſter at* WARSAW, *dated October* 12, 1788, *on the Subject of an intended Alliance between* RUSSIA *and* POLAND.

IF the projected alliance between Ruſſia and Poland have for its firſt object the conſervation of the ſtates of Poland, the king does not ſee the neceſſity or utility of it, becauſe the ſafety of Poland is ſufficiently guaranteed by the laſt treaties. It cannot be ſuppoſed that her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, or her ally the emperor of Germany, would infringe theirs. It muſt then be ſuppoſed the king has ſuch a deſign; and, in conſequence, this alliance is directed againſt him.

Thus the king cannot but object and proteſt ſolemnly againſt the ſaid alliance, as tending to break the good harmony eſtabliſhed between Pruſſia and Poland by the moſt ſolemn treaties.

If, in the ſecond place, this alliance be directed againſt the common enemy, and if under this qualification be included the ottoman porte; the king, out of friendſhip for the republic of Poland, cannot but repreſent, that the porte having always religiouſly obſerved the peace of Carlowitz; and that during the whole courſe of the preſent war they have carefully avoided the ſtates of the republic, there will infallibly reſult the moſt dangerous conſequences, as well for the ſtates of the republic, as for thoſe of his pruſſian majeſty which are next adjoining, if Poland contract alliances which authorize the porte to regard Poland as an enemy. Every loyal and enlightened citizen of Poland will ſee at once how

difficult and impoſſible it will be to defend his country againſt an enemy ſo near, ſo formidable, and ſo reſtleſs.

The king cannot then be indifferent to the project of an alliance, which menaces not only the greateſt danger towards the republic, but to his own ſtates, and which will infallibly extend farther the flames of war, already too general.

The king finds nothing to object againſt the republic of Poland's augmenting its army, and putting its forces in a reſpectable ſtate. But he leaves to the conſideration of the good citizens of Poland, if, in each augmentation of the army of Poland, a power is not given to engage the republic in a war which is abſolutely foreign to it, and conſequently leading to grievous conſequences. The king is flattered, that his majeſty the king of Poland, and the ſtates of the ſerene republic aſſembled in the preſent diet, will take into mature deliberation all that his majeſty now repreſents, in the way and through motives of the moſt ſincere friendſhip, and for the true welfare and common intereſt of the two ſtates, ſo cloſely united by the indiſſoluble ties of a perpetual alliance.

His majeſty alſo hopes, that her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia will not refuſe her approbation to motives ſo juſt, and ſo conformable to the welfare of the poliſh nation; and he expects alſo with confidence, from one part and the other, that they deſiſt from the project of an alliance ſo little neceſſary, but always ſo dangerous for Poland. It is in this hope, that his majeſty invites all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, to prevent, by their union and wiſe meaſures, the imminent danger with which their country is menaced. And they may depend, that his majeſty will grant them the neceſſary aſſiſtance, and the moſt powerful ſuccours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and ſecurity of Poland.

Given at Warſaw, the 12th of October 1788.

LOUIS DE BUCKHOLZ.

ANSWER

ANSWER *of the* DIET *at* WARSAW *to the* KING *of* PRUSSIA'S DECLARATION.

THE under-ſigned, by the expreſs orders of the king and the confederate ſtates of the diet, has the honour to tranſmit to M. de Buckholz the following anſwer:

The reading of the ſaid declaration of his pruſſian majeſty, in a full council, on the 13th, has impreſſed the ſtates aſſembled with a lively ſenſe of the generous manner in which the king has acted as a friend and neighbour, in aſſuring to Poland the ſafety of its poſſeſſions.

The project of an alliance between Ruſſia and Poland, not having been propoſed either to the permanent council, or to the diet when free, and afterwards confederated, is not therefore an object of the act of union, which leads the buſineſs of the diet, conformably to the general will of the nation; and the propoſitions coming from the throne reſpecting the augmentation of impoſts, and the military of the republic, are not in the ſyſtem of an offenſive force, but ſolely for defending and preſerving its poſſeſſions and its free government.

If in the already determined proceeding the ſtates aſſembled receive a propoſition and a project of an alliance, the republic, being held by the ſame nature of a diet, in ſo public a ſtep will never veil its proceedings, but act conformably to the independence of its ſovereignty, to the rules of prudence, to the ſacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly ſentiments of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia.

The general will, ever right and ever public, forming the ſpirit of the deliberations of the preſent diet, the ſtates aſſembled unanimouſly make it their wiſh to fix in the opinion

of his pruſſian majeſty an advantageous idea of their underſtandings, and their patriotiſm.

(Signed)
STANISLAUS NALZEL MALACHOFFSKY,
Referendary of the crown, marſhal of the diet, and of the confederation of the crown.

(Signed) CASIMIR PRINCE SAPIEHA,
General of artillery of Lithuania, marſhal of the confederation of the grand duchy of Lithuania.

Warſaw, Oct. 20th, 1788.

No. V.

ARTICLES *of the* QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE *between* RUSSIA, AUSTRIA, FRANCE, *and* SPAIN.

I. THAT in caſe any of the parties are attacked, by ſea or land, the other three ſhall defend with money, forces, or ſhipping.

II. The treaties of 1748, 1753, 1756, the Bourbon Family Compact in 1761, and the Convention between Auſtria and Ruſſia in 1787, ſhall be in full force.

III. Their moſt chriſtian and catholic majeſties oblige themſelves to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality in the preſent war with the Turks. But in caſe the emperor ſhould be attacked by any other power the french king is to furniſh him 30,000 men, or an equivalent in money, on demand. And in caſe the french king is attacked, the emperor is to furniſh the like ſuccours.

IV. The king of Spain agrees, on his part, to the aforeſaid third article, as the emperor alſo does toward the king of Spain.

V. If the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould be attacked in the preſent war with the Turks, his moſt chriſtian majeſty engages

engages to aſſiſt her with eight ſhips of the line and ſix frigates; and his catholic majeſty is to furniſh the like ſuccours; the empreſs of Ruſſia binding herſelf to furniſh either or both powers with an equal aſſiſtance, in caſe any attack be made on them.

VI. The treaty of commerce between France and Ruſſia, made in 1787, ſhall be in full force, and a ſimilar treaty be ſigned by Ruſſia and Spain.

VII. The treaty of 1761, between France and Spain, to be in full force.

VIII. Though this treaty is to be purely defenſive, the parties agree, that if any of them are attacked, the other three ſhall not make peace, until the province which is invaded is reſtored back in the ſame ſtate it was before attacked.

IX. Whenever any of the parties ſhall, by their ambaſſadors, demand ſtipulated ſuccours, the ſaid ambaſſadors ſhall be reciprocally admitted into the councils of war, and deliberate upon and ſettle whatever may be moſt advantageous to the four contracting parties; and the auxiliary ſuccours are to be augmented as events may require.

X. The high contracting parties ſhall have liberty to invite ſuch other powers to accede to the preſent treaty as they may think proper.

XI. Denmark, as an ally of Ruſſia, ſhall be ſpecially invited to accede thereto.

No. VI.

TREATY *of* PEACE *concluded between the* KING *of* SWEDEN *and the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity!

HIS majeſty the king of Sweden, and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, equally deſirous of putting an

end to the war which had unhappily broke out between them, and to re-eſtabliſh the friendſhip, harmony, and good neighbourhood which have long ſubſiſted between their reſpective ſtates and countries, have reciprocally communicated to each other their pacific intentions; and with a view to realize them, they have appointed and authorized, viz. his majeſty the king of Sweden, the ſieur Guſtavus von Armfeldt, baron of Vorentatha, &c. and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, the ſieur Otho Henry von Igelſtrom, lieutenant-general of her armies, &c. who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, and found them duly authorized, and in proper form, and having mutually exchanged them, have agreed on the following articles:

I. There ſhall be henceforward, between his majeſty the king of Sweden and his eſtates, countries, and nations, on one part, and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and her eſtates, countries, and nations, on the other, perpetual peace, good neighbourhood, and perfect tranquillity, both by ſea and land; and, conſequently, the moſt ſpeedy orders for the ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhall be given by each party. Whatever is paſt ſhall be forgotten: attention will only be paid to the re-eſtabliſhment of that harmony and mutual good-will which has been interrupted by the preſent war.

II. The limits and frontiers ſhall, on each ſide, continue as they were before the rupture, or the beginning of the preſent war.

III. Therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken or occupied by the troops of either of the contracting parties, ſhall be evacuated as ſpeedily as poſſible, or in 14 days after the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty.

IV. All priſoners of war, or others who, not bearing arms, have been taken by either of the belligerent parties during the courſe of hoſtilities, ſhall be ſet at liberty by each party without ranſom; and they ſhall be permitted to return

return home without any indemnification being required by either party for their maintenance; but they ſhall be obliged to pay the debts which they have contracted with individuals of each reſpective ſtate.

V. And, in order to prevent the giving the leaſt occaſion for a miſunderſtanding at ſea between the contracting parties, it is ſtipulated and agreed, that whenever one or more ſwediſh men of war, whether ſmall or great, ſhall paſs by the forts of her imperial majeſty, they ſhall be obliged to give a ſalute in the ſwediſh manner; which ſhall be immediately anſwered by a ſalute in the ruſſian mode. The ſame ſhall be obſerved by ruſſian men of war, whether one or more; they ſhall be obliged to ſalute before the forts of his ſwediſh majeſty, and they ſhall be anſwered by a ſwediſh ſalute.

In the mean time, the high contracting parties ſhall order, as ſpeedily as poſſible, a particular convention to be made, in which the mode of ſaluting between ſwediſh and ruſſian ſhips ſhall be eſtabliſhed, whether at ſea, in port, or wherever they may chance to meet.

Till then, in order to prevent miſtakes in the above caſe, ſhips of war belonging to either party ſhall not ſalute each other.

VI. Her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias has alſo agreed, that his ſwediſh majeſty ſhall be at liberty to buy every year corn to the amount of 50,000 rubles in the ports of the gulf of Finland and of the Baltic ſea, provided it be proved that it is for the uſe of his ſwediſh majeſty, or for the uſe of ſome of his ſubjects duly authorized by his majeſty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, barren years ſhall not be included, nor ſuch years in which, for ſome important reaſons, her imperial majeſty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever.

VII. As the eagerneſs of the high contracting parties for the ſpeedy termination of thoſe evils with which their reſpective

reſpective ſubjects have been afflicted, in conſequence of war, does not allow them time for the regulation of many points, and objects tending to eſtabliſh firmly a good neighbourhood and perfect tranquillity of the frontiers, they agree, and mutually promiſe to pay attention to thoſe points and objects, and to diſcuſs and regulate them amicably by means of ambaſſadors or plenipotentiary miniſters, whom they ſhall appoint immediately after the concluſion of the preſent treaty of peace.

VIII. The ratifications of the preſent treaty of peace ſhall be exchanged within the ſpace of ſix days, or ſooner if poſſible.

In teſtimony whereof, we have ſigned the preſent treaty of peace, and ſealed it with our arms.

Done in the plain of Vercle, near the river Kymene, between the advanced poſts of each camp, the 11th of Auguſt 1790.

GUSTAVUS MAURE, BARON VON ARMFELDT.
OTHO, BARON VON IGELSTROM.

No. VII.

MANIFESTO *of the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS *relative to the Partition of* POLAND.

I MICHAEL KRECHETNIKOFF, general in chief, ſenator, general-governor of Tula, Kaluga, and the countries newly annexed from the poliſh republic to the ruſſian empire, commander of all the armies there, &c. hereby make known, by the ſupreme will and command of my moſt gracious ſovereign her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, to all the inhabitants in general of the countries now united for ever to the ruſſian empire from the popiſh republic:

Her imperial majeſty has hitherto taken, in the affairs of Poland, a part that has always been tending to the intereſt

of

of both empires. It has not only been unſucceſsful, but proved a fruitleſs burthen; and her endeavours to maintain peace and freedom among her neighbours have been attended with innumerable loſſes.

Thirty years of experience has evinced it, in the numerous internal diſputes which have diſtracted the poliſh republic. Her imperial majeſty has viewed their ſufferings, in the countries and cities bordering on her empire, with great compaſſion, conſidering them as deſcending from the ſame race, and profeſſing the holy chriſtian religion.

Even at this moment, ſome unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, have not been aſhamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to requeſt their aſſiſtance to involve their country alſo in bloody civil wars.

The true chriſtian religion, and the well-being of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned countries, would ſuffer from the introduction of ſuch deteſtable doctrines, which tend to annihilate all the bonds of ſociety, to overthrow all ſafety, property, and proſperity. Theſe enemies of peace, following the deteſtable plan of the mob of rebels in France, propagate their doctrines throughout Poland to the utmoſt of their power, which would deſtroy for ever their own and their neighbours happineſs.

From theſe conſiderations, her imperial majeſty, my moſt gracious miſtreſs, as well to indemnify herſelf for her many loſſes, as for the future ſafety of her empire and the poliſh dominions, and for the cutting off at once, for ever, all future diſturbances and frequent changes of government, has been pleaſed now to take under her ſway, and to unite for ever to her empire, the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants: namely, a line beginning at the village of Druy, on the left bank of the river Dwina, at the corner of the border of Semigallia; thence extending to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the voivodeſhip of Vilna to Stolptſa, to Neſvij, and then to Pinſk; and thence paſſing

paſſing Kuniſh, between Niſkero and Novegreble, near the frontier of Gallicia; thence to the river Dnieſtr; and, laſtly, running along the river, till it enter the old border of Ruſſia and Poland at Yergetic: in ſuch manner, that all the cities and countries within this line of demarcation, the new border of Ruſſia and Poland, ſhall henceforward, for ever, come under the ſceptre of the ruſſian empire, and the inhabitants, of all ranks whatever, be ſubjects thereof.

I being appointed by her imperial majeſty governor-general of theſe countries, by her ſupreme order have to certify, in her ſacred name, and in her own words, to all her imperial majeſty's new ſubjects, and now my beloved countrymen, that her moſt gracious majeſty is pleaſed, not only to confirm and enſure to all the free and public exerciſe of their religion, and full ſecurity of property and poſſeſſion, but to unite and to affiliate them under her government, for the fame and glory of the whole ruſſian empire; an example of which is to be ſeen in her faithful ſubjects, the inhabitants of White Ruſſia, now living in full peace and plenty under her wiſe and gracious dominion. Further, that all and every one of them ſhall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old ſubjects; and that from this day, every denomination of the inhabitants enters on the full participation of theſe benefits through the whole extent of the ruſſian empire.

Her imperial majeſty expects, from the gratitude of her new ſubjects, that they, being placed by her bounty on an equality with Ruſſians, ſhall in return transfer the love of their former country to the new one, and live, in future, attached to ſo great and generous an empreſs.

I therefore now inform every perſon, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that, within one month, they muſt take the oath of allegiance before the witneſſes whom I ſhall appoint; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks, poſſeſſing real or immovable property, regardleſs of their own intereſt, ſhould refuſe to take the oath preſcribed, three months are allowed

allowed for the ſale of their immovables, and their free departure over the borders; after the expiration of which term, all their remaining property ſhall be confiſcated to the crown.

The clergy, both high and low, as paſtors of their flocks, are expected to ſet the example in taking the oath; and in the daily ſervice in their churches they muſt pray for her imperial majeſty, for her ſucceſſor the great duke Paul Petrovitch, and for all the imperial family, according to the form which ſhall be given them.

In the above-mentioned ſolemn aſſurance concerning the free exerciſe of religion and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of property, it is underſtood that the jews living in theſe countries united to the ruſſian empire, ſhall remain on the former footing, protected in their religion and property; for her majeſty's humanity will not permit them alone to be excluded from the benefits of her kindneſs, under the protection of God; ſo long as they continue to live in peace, and purſue their trades like faithful ſubjects, law and juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered, in the name of her imperial majeſty, in the proper places, with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs and equity.

I have further thought it needful to add, by order of her imperial majeſty, that the troops ſhall, as in their own country, be under the ſtricteſt diſcipline. Their taking poſſeſſion, therefore, of the various places, and changing the government, ſhould not in the leaſt alter the courſe of trade or living; for the increaſe of the happineſs of the inhabitants in all parts is the intention of her imperial majeſty.

This manifeſto ſhall be read in all the churches on the 27th of this preſent month of March, regiſtered in all the municipal books, and nailed up in proper places, for the general information; and that full credit may be given to it, I have, in conſequence of the powers entruſted to me, ſigned it with my hand, and affixed to it the ſeal of my arms, at

the head-quarters of the army under my command at Polonna.

(Signed) M. KRECHETNIKOFF.

MANIFESTO *of his* PRUSSIAN MAJESTY *relative to his Partition of* POLAND, *March* 25.

WE Frederic William, by the grace of God, king of Pruſſia, &c. make known to the reſpective ſtates, biſhops, abbots, voivodes, caſtellans, ſtahroſts, chamberlains, and country judges; the knighthood, vaſſals, and nobles, the magiſtrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the ſpiritual and ſecular inhabitants of the voivodeſhips of Poſen, Gneſen, Kaliſh, Siradia, the city and monaſtery of Chentochova, the province of Wielun; the voivodeſhip of Lentſchitz, the province of Cujavia, the province of Doorzyn, the voivodeſhips of Rava and Plotzk, &c. in the circle of the boundaries, as likewiſe the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, hitherto in the poſſeſſion of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all ſorts of good, and give them the following moſt gracious notice:

It is univerſally known that the poliſh nation never ceaſed to afford to the neighbouring powers, and chiefly to the pruſſian ſtate, frequent reaſons of juſt diſcontent. Not ſatisfied (contrary to all rules of good neighbourhood) with injuring the pruſſian territory, by frequent invaſions, with moleſting and ill-uſing the ſubjects on this ſide the frontiers, and with almoſt continually refuſing them juſtice and lawful ſatisfaction; this nation have, beſides, always bnſied themſelves with pernicious plans, which muſt needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. Theſe are matters of fact which could not eſcape the eye of an attentive obſerver of the late occurrences in Poland: but what chiefly excited the ſerious conſideration of the neighbouring powers is, the ſpirit of rebellion continually increaſing in Poland, and the viſible influence which was obtained

by

by thoſe abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties would have been diſſolved, and the inhabitants of Poland expoſed to all the tremendous conſequences of anarchy, and plunged into miſeries, the end of which could not be foreſeen.

If in every country the adoption and ſpreading of ſuch deſtructive principles be always attended with the loſs of the tranquillity and happineſs of its inhabitants, its deſtructive conſequences are the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland; ſince this nation have always diſtinguiſhed themſelves by diſturbances and party ſpirit, and are powerful enough of themſelves to become dangerous to their neighbours by theſe diſturbances.

It would certainly militate againſt the firſt rules of ſound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preſervation of tranquillity in our dominions, if, in ſuch a ſtate of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive ſpectators, and ſhould wait for the period when the factions feel themſelves ſtrong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be expoſed to ſeveral dangers, by the conſequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

We have, therefore, in conjunction with her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, and with the aſſent of his majeſty the roman emperor, acknowledged, that the ſafety of our ſtates did require to ſet to the republic of Poland ſuch boundaries as are more compatible with her interior ſtrength and ſituation, and may facilitate to her the means of procuring, without prejudice to her liberty, a well-ordered, ſolid, and active form of government; of maintaining herſelf in the undiſturbed enjoyment of the ſame; and preventing, by theſe means, the diſturbances which have ſo often ſhaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the ſafety of her neighbours.

In order to attain this end, and to preſerve the republic of Poland from the dreadful conſequences which muſt be the

the reſult of her internal diviſions, and to reſcue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the deſtructive doctrines which they are bent to follow; there is, according to our thorough perſuaſion, to which alſo her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias accedes, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our ſtates, and for this purpoſe immediately to take poſſeſſion of the ſame, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might ariſe from the continuance of the reciprocal diſturbances.

Wherefore we have reſolved, with the aſſent of her ruſſian majeſty, to take poſſeſſion of the above-mentioned diſtricts of Poland, and alſo of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, in order to incorporate them into our dominions.

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unſhaken reſolution, and expect that the poliſh nation will ſoon aſſemble in the diet, and adopt the neceſſary meaſures to the end of ſettling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the ſalutary end of ſecuring to the republic of Poland an undiſturbed peace, and preſerving her inhabitants from the terrible conſequences of anarchy. At the ſame time, we exhort the ſtates and inhabitants of the diſtricts and towns which we have taken poſſeſſion of, as already mentioned, both in a gracious and ſerious manner, not to oppoſe our commanders and troops ordered for that purpoſe, but rather tractably to ſubmit to our government, and acknowledge us, from this day forward, as their lawful king and ſovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient ſubjects, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland.

We doubt not that all whom this may concern will attend to it with obedience; but in caſe, and contrary to all expectation, ſome one or other ſtate and inhabitants of the ſaid diſtricts and towns ſhould refuſe to obey the contents of this, and not take the oath of allegiance, nor ſubmit to our government, or even attempt to oppoſe our commanders and troops, ſuch perſon or perſons have unavoidably to

expect

expect, that the puniſhment uſual in ſuch caſes ſhall be inflicted upon them without any diſtinction.

In witneſs whereof we have ſubſcribed this patent with our own hand, and cauſed our royal ſeal to be ſet to it, to be publiſhed in due place, and to be publicly printed.

Done at Berlin the 25th of March 1793.

FREDERIC WILLIAM. (L. S.)

DECLARATION *of the* KING *and* REPUBLIC *of* POLAND, *aſſembled in Diet at* GRODNO, *proteſting againſt the forcible Partition of* POLAND, *Sept.* 24.

SURROUNDED cloſely by foreign troops on the 2d of this month, threatened with further invaſion of the territory of the republic by the pruſſian armies, to its uttermoſt ruin, and oppreſſed by innumerable violences, the ſtates in diet aſſembled were forced to give leave to their deputation for ſigning the impoſed treaty, with addition of a few clauſes, and ſuch only as the dictating power itſelf ſeemed in pity to approve of. But with grief and ſurpriſe we find, by the ſad experience of this day, that the court of Berlin is not ſatisfied therewith. We ſee freſh acts of violence forcing a new project upon us: and, in order to ſupport it, the ſame preponderant power, not contented with inveſting the place of our deliberations by an armed foreign force, with addreſſing to us notes full of menaces, ſeizes from among us, and carries off, our members; and, by an unexampled proceeding, keeps us, the king, bent under the weight of age and under ſuch manifold calamities, and us, the ſtates of the republic, confined and impriſoned in the ſenate.

Thus ſituated, we do declare, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, unable to prevent, even with the riſk of our lives, the effect of the oppreſſive force, we leave to our poſterity, happier perhaps than ourſelves, thoſe means of ſaving our dear country, whereof we are bereft at preſent; and thus the pro-

ject ſent to us by the ruſſian ambaſſador, though contrary to our laws, wiſhes, and opinions, forced by the above means to accept, we do accept.

Done at Grodno the 24th of September. Signed and engroſſed in the public records, according to law.

No. VIII.

The principal ARTICLES *of the* TREATY *concluded at* YASSY *the 9th of January* 1792, *and ſigned by Prince* REPNIN *and the* GRAND VIZIR.

I. THAT a ſincere amity ſhall henceforth ſubſiſt between the two empires.

II. That the ſtipulations in the treaties that preceded the laſt rupture ſhall reſume their entire force.

III. That the Dnieſtr ſhall henceforth ſerve as the boundary of the two empires; and that all the territory ſituate on the left bank of that river ſhall be reſtored to the porte.

IV. That the antient rights and privileges of the principal towns of Moldavia and of Valakhia ſhall be confirmed; that the inhabitants of thoſe towns ſhall remain, during two whole years, exempt from all tribute; and that thoſe who would ſell their property, and retire elſewhere, ſhall be at liberty to do ſo without difficulty.

V. That the porte ſhall henceforth guarentee the kingdoms of Gruſinia or Georgia and the adjacent countries.

VI. That it ſhall ſtrive to do the ſame in regard to Caucaſus.

VII. That it ſhall undertake to put a ſtop to the piracies of the barbarian corſairs, and to indemnify the ſubjects of

Ruſſia for the loſſes they may ſuſtain by the failure of execution of the three preceding articles.

VIII. That the ruſſian, greek, moldavian, poliſh, &c. priſoners ſhall be ſet at liberty.

No. IX.

Some PARTICULARS *of the* UKASE *or* EDICT *publiſhed in regard to the* FRENCH *eſtabliſhed in* RUSSIA.

AFTER a preamble againſt the french revolution, the empreſs adds: 1. All the effects of the treaty of commerce concluded the 30th of December 1786, between us and the late king Louis XVI. are ſuſpended, till ſuch time as order ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, and there ſhall be a legitimate authority in France. 2. We prohibit, till that ſame time, the entrance of french ſhips, whether under their own or under foreign colours, into all our ports ſituate in the ſeveral ſeas; and we likewiſe forbid all our merchants and maſters of ſhips to cauſe their veſſels to enter the ports of France. 3. We command the ci-devant conſuls, agents, &c. to withdraw from our two reſidences; and that a term of three weeks ſhall be preſcribed to them for ſettling their affairs, and being without the frontiers of Ruſſia..... 4. We in like manner command all our conſuls, &c. and in general all Ruſſians of both ſexes, to quit, without delay, the kingdom of France..... 5. We command that none tolerate, and that they remove from our empire all the French, of either ſex, without exception..... 6. We except the French who, being ſummoned before the government of the place where they are ſettled, ſhall teſtify a ſincere deſire to

abjure the principles that are now in vogue in their country..... It ſhall be clearly repreſented to them, that their abjuration ſhall be inſerted in the ruſſian and foreign gazettes, together with the names of thoſe who ſhall have ſworn and ſubſcribed it.

Form of the abjuration. — "I, the underwritten, ſwear by "Almighty God, and by his holy goſpel, that, as I have "never, wittingly or willingly, given my approbation to "the impious and ſeditious principles that have been intro- "duced into France, and that I confeſs the government "which has juſt been eſtabliſhed there to be unlawful and "uſurped, in violation of all laws..... That I am "convinced, in my conſcience, of the excellence of that "religion which has been tranſmitted to me by my an- "ceſtors..... I promiſe, and bind myſelf, in conſe- "quence, ſo long as I ſhall enjoy the ſecure protection "which her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias has graciouſly "vouchſafed to grant me, to live in the obſervance of the "precepts of the religion in which I was born; to be ſub- "miſſive to the laws and to the government of her imperial "majeſty; to break off all correſpondence in my native "country with the French who acknowledge the monſtrous "form of government now exiſting in France..... "And in caſe I ſhould ever be guilty of a violation of this "oath, I ſubmit myſelf to all the ſeverity of the laws in "this life, and, for that which is to come, to the tremen- "dous judgment of God. And in confirmation of this "oath, I kiſs the holy goſpel and the croſs of my Saviour."

No. X.

ABOLITION *of the* MESSAGES *relative to* FAMILY EVENTS *between* SWEDEN *and* RUSSIA.

THE king of Sweden thought it his duty, on occaſion of the recent reſolution of his marriage, to give a princeſs [the empreſs of Ruſſia], who is his relation and his ally, the ſame mark of attention which he has already given to their pruſſian and daniſh majeſties, to whom he is equally attached by the bands of amity and good neighbourhood. It is therefore with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that his majeſty has ſeen that the empreſs of Ruſſia in no reſpect corre-ſponded with this attention. The king has, in conſequence, reſolved in future to receive none of thoſe private miſſions which have relation to family events, and which have hitherto been cuſtomary between the two courts, but which the king has now aboliſhed for ever.

No. XI.

ACT *by which* COURLAND, SEMIGALLIA, *and the* CIRCLE *of* PILTEN, *ſurrendered themſelves to the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA.

I. WE ſubmit ourſelves for ourſelves and our poſterity, ourſelves and the duchies of Courland and Semigallia, to her imperial majeſty Catharine II. empreſs of all the Ruſſias, gloriouſly reigning, and to her ſovereign ſceptre.

II. We know by experience the great inconvenience of the feudal ſyſtem which attached us to the paramount ſove-reiguty of Poland, and how greatly it oppoſed the general proſperity of the country. We imitate our anceſtors of that part of Livonia beyond the Dvina, who, in 1561, renoun-

cing the ſupremacy of the emperor and of the empire, conſequently the feudal ſyſtem of that time, and the mediate government of the teutonic order, ſubmitted themſelves immediately to Poland. We renounce for ourſelves and our poſterity the feudal ſyſtem which has ſubſiſted hitherto under the poliſh ſupremacy, and the mediate government reſulting from it. We ſubmit ourſelves immediately to her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias and to her ſceptre. We reſign to her, with the more confidence and reſpect, the more particular deciſion of our lot, as her ſaid majeſty has hitherto ſhewn herſelf the generous protectreſs and guarantee of all our rights, of our laws, of our cuſtoms, of our immunities, of our privileges *, and of our poſſeſſions. She will certainly be diſpoſed, according to her magnanimous and benevolent way of thinking, to ameliorate, in her maternal ſolicitude, the future lot of a country which ſubmits itſelf to her with the moſt reſpectful and the moſt unlimited confidence.

III. A deputation of ſix perſons ſhall go to Peterſburg, to ſollicit her imperial majeſty to deign to accept of our entire ſubmiſſion; and in that caſe, to take there to her imperial majeſty the oath of fidelity and obedience.

No. XII.

FORM *of the* INDIVIDUAL OATH *exacted of the* LITHUANIANS *and the* POLES.

" I *N. N.* promiſe and ſwear to God Almighty, by his
" holy goſpel, to be always ready to ſerve, faithfully and
" loyally, her imperial majeſty the moſt ſerene empreſs

* Witneſs, when the ruſſian troops re-inſtated Biren by open force

" grand

" grand lady, Catharine Alexievna, autocratrix of all the " Ruſſias, and her well-beloved ſon, grand duke Paul " Petrovitch, her lawful ſucceſſor, to go for that purpoſe " to yield up my life, and to ſhed the laſt drop of my " blood; to pay due and perfect obedience to the commands " already iſſued, or hereafter to iſſue, from the authorities " appointed by her; to fulfil and maintain them all conſci- " entiouſly to the beſt of my power; to contribute, with " all my ſtrength, to the maintenance of the peace and quiet " which her majeſty has eſtabliſhed in my country, and to " have no communication or intelligence whatever with the " diſturbers of that quiet, either mediately or immediately, " either publicly or privately, either by actions or by advice, " and whatever be the particular occaſion, circumſtance, or " cauſe that may lead to it.

" In caſe, on the contrary, any thing ſhould come to my " knowledge prejudicial to the intereſts of her imperial " majeſty, or to the general welfare, I will not only ſtrive " to remove at the time, but I will oppoſe it with all the " means that ſhall be in my power, to hinder it from coming " to paſs. I will ſo conduct myſelf in all my actions as it " behoves me, like a faithful citizen, to behave towards the " authorities which her majeſty has ſet over me, and as I " muſt anſwer for it to God and to his terrible judgment. " So may God help me, as well in my body as in my ſoul.

" In confirmation of the profeſſion made by this oath, I " kiſs the holy word and the croſs of my Saviour."

No. XIII.

Russian Declaration.

THE intentions which her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias has cauſed to be announced in the declaration deli-

vered on the 7-18th May, laſt year, by her miniſter at Warſaw, upon the occaſion of her troops entering Poland, were without contradiction of a nature for obtaining the ſuffrage, deference, and one might even add, thankfulneſs of the whole poliſh nation. However, all Europe has ſeen in what manner they have been received and appropriated.

To open to the confederation of Targovich the road by which they might attain the exerciſe of their rights and legal power, it was neceſſary to take up arms, and the authors of the revolution of the 3d of May 1791, and their adherents, have not quitted the career by which they have provoked the ruſſian troops, until after they were vanquiſhed by their efforts.

But if open reſiſtance ceaſed, it was only to make room for ſecret machinations, whoſe developed ſprings are the more dangerous, as they often eſcape the moſt attentive vigilance, and even the reach of the law.

The ſpirit of faction and diſturbance has ſhot ſuch deep roots, that thoſe who miſchievouſly foment and propagate them, after having been unſucceſsful in their cabals at foreign courts to render the views of Ruſſia ſuſpicious to them, have endeavoured to delude the multitude, always eaſy to be overtaken, and ſucceeded in making them ſhare in the hatred and animoſity they have conceived againſt this empire, for having fruſtrated them in their criminal expectations.

Without ſpeaking about ſeveral facts of public notoriety that prove the miſchievous diſpoſition of the greateſt number of the Polanders, let it ſuffice to mention, that they have been known to abuſe even the principles of humanity and of moderation, to which the generals and officers of the empreſs's army, purſuant to the expreſs orders they had received, conformed their conduct and actions; and to burſt out againſt them in all manner of inſults and bad proceedings, inſomuch that the moſt audacious durſt to make mention of Sicilian Veſpers, and threaten to make them undergo the ſame.

Such

Such is the reward which theſe enemies of tranquillity and of good order, whom her imperial majeſty was willing to re-eſtabliſh and ſecure in their native country, reſerved for her generous intentions.

From this, one may gueſs at the ſincerity of the acceſſion of moſt among them to the now exiſting confederation, and alſo at the duration and ſolidity of the peace, both abroad and in the boſom of the republic.

But the empreſs, accuſtomed for theſe thirty years to ſtruggle againſt the continual agitations of this ſtate, and truſting to the means Providence gave her to contain within their bounds the diſſenſions which have reigned there until this day, would have perſevered in her diſintereſted exertions, and continued to bury in oblivion all the grievances ſhe has to lay to its charge, and alſo the lawful pretentions to which they entitle her, if inconveniencies of a ſtill more ſerious nature were not to be apprehended. The unnatural delirium of a people, of late ſo flouriſhing, now degraded, diſmembered, and on the brink of an abyſs ready to ſwallow them, inſtead of being an object of horror for thoſe factious perſons, appears to them a pattern for imitation. They endeavour to introduce into the boſom of the republic this infernal doctrine, which a ſect, altogether impious, ſacrilegious, and abſurd, has engendered, to the misfortune and diſſolution of all religious, civil, and political ſocieties.

Clubs, which are connected with the jacobin clubs at Paris, are already eſtabliſhed in the capital, as well as in ſeveral provinces of Poland; they diſtil their poiſon in a ſecret manner, fill the people's minds with it, and cauſe them to fomeut.

The eſtabliſhment of an axiom ſo dangerous for all powers whoſe ſtates border upon the dominions of the republic, muſt naturally excite their attention. They have in conjunction taken the moſt proper meaſures for ſtifling the evil before it came to maturity, and preventing its contagion from reaching their own frontiers. Her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, with

with the aſſent of his majeſty the emperor of the Romans, have found no other effectual ones for their reſpective ſafety than to confine the republic of Poland in narrower bounds, by awarding to her an exiſtence and propoſitions, which ſuit an intermediary power beſt, and which facilitate to her the means of ſecuring and preſerving herſelf, without prejudicing her former liberty, and a government that is wiſely regulated, and at the ſame time active enough to prevent and repreſs all diſorders and diſturbances that have ſo often impaired her own tranquillity and that of her neighbours. For this purpoſe, their majeſties the empreſs of all the Ruſſias and the king of Pruſſia, being united with a perfect concert of views and principles, are thoroughly convinced that they cannot better prevent the entire ſubverſion the republic is threatened with after the diſcord that has divided it, and eſpecially of theſe monſtrous and erroneous opinions that begin to manifeſt themſelves, than by uniting to their reſpective ſtates thoſe of the provinces which actually border upon the ſame, and by taking an immediate and effective poſſeſſion of them, in order to ſhelter them in time from the fatal effects of theſe very opinions which people ſeek to propagate there.

Their ſaid majeſties, by announcing to the whole Poliſh nation in general the firm reſolutions they have taken on this head, invite them to aſſemble as ſoon as poſſible in a diet, to the end of proceeding to an amicable regulation concerning this object, and to concur with the ſalutary intention they have for ſecuring to her in future a ſtate of undiſturbed peace fixed on a ſtable and ſolid baſis.

Given at Grodno, the 29th of March O. S. 9th April 1793.

JAMES DE SIEVERS,

Ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias.

NOTE *delivered on the* 28*th of April, by the Illuſtrious* GENERAL CONFEDERATION, *to H. E. Mr.* DE SIEVERS, *Ambaſſador Extraordinary of her Majeſty the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *in* ANSWER *to thoſe of this* MINISTER, *under date of the* 18*th ult.*

THE general confederation of the two nations having enjoined the under-ſigned to anſwer the notes of his excellency Mr. De Sievers, ambaſſador extraordinary of her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, dated the 9th and 18th of the preſent month, they find themſelves charged and conſtrained to confeſs that the confederation never expected a declaration of the taking of the provinces of the republic, and that they on the receipt of the firſt note, have of courſe found themſelves in the difficult and thorny ſituation of conciliating the painful ſentiments they found themſelves penetrated with reſpecting the regard due to neighbouring and allied powers; a ſituation which alone was the cauſe of a longer deliberation.

The general confederation thought they might indeed ſuppoſe, by the purport of the notes delivered to them, both on the part of her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, and on the part of his pruſſian majeſty, that the taking of the wealthieſt provinces of the republic of Poland, and whoſe extent exceeds that which is left her, is no longer an object of negociation ſuſceptible of a mutual arrangement but rather a declaration of what theſe two powers have pleaſed to ſubmit under their dominion; and it has conſequently appeared to the general confederation, that no power whatſoever, not even that of the diet, being able to avert the diſaſter which unexpectedly has befel the republic, it would have been the duty of the ſaid confederation, who with a ſolemn oath have bound themſelves in the face of the church, to maintain the integrity of the country in the ſmalleſt particle, to withdraw themſelves from the leaſt participation of any thing that might render them juſtly perjurers. The deliberations

deliberations then only run upon proper means of saving the honour of a clear and irreproachable conscience; but since the confederation have found themselves to be unable to serve the country in a useful manner, and to deserve by a loyal counter declaration to see themselves rather pitied than despised, after an event they can in no ways reproach themselves with, and of which they hope to be cleared by an equitable and compassionate public.

It was in a contest of similar sensations, when the second note of his excellency the ambassador, dated April the 18th, was handed to the general confederation, who are besides forced to fear the reproaches of the nation concerning their inaction, especially after having been informed, that whatever was furnished to the numerous army of her imperial majesty, should not be refunded till the universals were published, in order to assemble an extraordinary diet.

Finally, they have charged the underwritten to declare in the name of the general confederation, and by their express order, that the said confederation think themselves fully justified before the sight of the Supreme Being, and the equitableness of the neighbouring and allied powers, likewise before their just and impartial nation, concerning any participation whatever in the plan of dividing Poland, and relative to the measures they adopt, pursuant to the laws guaranteed by those very powers—by recalling the members of the permanent council, who have not given an account yet of their past administration—by replacing with new members those that are lawfully excluded—and to further the complement established by the law of 1775; by restoring besides to this magistracy all the activity given them, to the end of effectually relieving the pressing exigencies of the republic, and of continuing its government.

The underwritten are in hopes his excellency the ambassador extraordinary of her imperial majesty, will find this present answer as loyal and just as all the actions of the confederation have always been, and that he will acquaint his court with it, by justifying whatever may have been the effect of

of a too limited power by an oath of the ſaid confederation taken in a ſolemn manner.

PUTAVOKI,
Vice-marſhal of the confederation of Lithuania.
ZABIELLO,
Marſhal of the confederation of the crown.

Warſaw, May 8.

No. XIV.

UNIVERSAL, *publiſhed in the Name of the* EMPRESS *in the heretofore* POLISH PROVINCES, *now under her Dominion.*

By the grace of God, we Catharine II. empreſs and ſovereign of all the Ruſſias,

TO all the inhabitants of the provinces forming in former times a part of the demeſnes of the republic of Poland, and now actually united to our empire, greeting: and we give them notice, by aſſuring them of our imperial good will, that of having united to our ſtates the Poliſh provinces which of old eſſentially formed part of them, which we ſeparated from them in critical times, that which ever ſince that epoch did not ceaſe to be expoſed to all the deſtructive effects of domeſtic diſturbances, diſorder, and diſſenſions, which made the moſt fatal infringements, not only upon public tranquillity, but alſo upon the ſafety and welfare of individuals. On one hand, the records of ancient hiſtory; on the other, the events that took place under our eye, preſent to us on every ſide the doleful detail of diſaſtrous revolutions; long and murderous wars; in ſhort, diſaſters of every denomination, which the people eſtabliſhed in theſe provinces muſt have experienced before they came again under our dominion, and ſhared the glory and proſperity our empire at preſent enjoys, and which proclaims its fame in all corners of the

the world. At laſt, however, they are going to taſte this happineſs, which ſpreads itſelf over all our ſubjects; and our views, by taking poſſeſſion again of theſe provinces, have been and will always be, to ſecure in them the tranquillity of the citizens; to eſtabliſh therein a wiſe government, under which each individual may obtain the juſtice he has a right to claim, and to give to this conſtitutional form of government a more laſting baſis; wherefore we think the firſt and the moſt agreeable of our obligations, and as it were a duty impoſed upon us by the Almighty himſelf, is that of anticipating by our imperial good-will all the wiſhes of the citizens of theſe diſtricts, and of leading them all equally to the path of felicity, as much as it lies in our power. Faithful to theſe principles, we have not only guaranteed to each of them the ſafety of their perſons and property, but we moreover intend to indemnify them for the damages they have ſuſtained through the diſturbances and diſorders which took place in theſe provinces, through the marching of troops, and eſpecially in the laſt war, of which this part has been the chief ſeat. Wiſhing moreover to give them the firſt token of our maternal ſollicitude, we have given orders to our general governor of the ſaid provinces, Mr. Krechetnikoff, to cauſe an accurate inventory to be made of thoſe damages; nevertheleſs, we farther prohibit the collecting from any claſs of citizens, of any kind of taxes or contributions whatever, for the benefit of our treaſury, from this day forward to the firſt of January 1795, except ſuch voluntary gifts as the citizens ſhould offer of their own accord, and which, therefore, cannot be a burden to any body whatever; reſerving our farther diſpoſitions on this head. We permit alſo the collection on the old footing, till we ſhall order it otherwiſe, of all the toils and duties inwards, according to the already-eſtabliſhed cuſtom-houſe officers, or that are able to be ſo on the new frontiers of the empire of Ruſſia, as being indiſpenſably neceſſary in the preſent juncture, for the eſtabliſhment and maintenance of the government and the chancery of our imperial Fiſcus.

The

The firſt action of our authority being a teſtimony of benevolence in favour of ſubjects that are newly come under our dominion, and of ſollicitude for the welfare of the country they inhabit, we are apt to think that they will gratefully receive this mark of favour, and will know how to value, as they ought to do, the deſire we announce here of gaining their hearts by our favours, and to attach them to their ancient mother country, by the hopes of the advantages we offer them, inſtead of ſubduing them by dint of arms. We hope that, anſwering our generous views, they will ſend up to Heaven their thankſgivings for their being returned into the boſom of their ancient mother-country, that adopts them for the ſecond time; that the object of their zeal and of their endeavours will be, to conſolidate them in the faithfulneſs they owe us, and in a conſtant ſubmiſſion to our laws; that they will unite themſelves with heart and ſoul to our faithful ſubjects the Ruſſians; that, in ſhort, they will form, as they did formerly, a reſpectable nation, always tractable, always faithful to their monarchs, always valiant and invincible, whereby they will render themſelves truly worthy of the ſolicitude we ſhew to them, as a tender mother, who only wiſhes for the happineſs of her children.

Given in the town of St. Peter, our imperial reſidence, the 23d, 24th of April 1793, of the birth of Jeſus Chriſt; of our dominion over all the Ruſſias the 31ſt, and over the Tauride the 10th.

(Signed) CATHARINE.

No. XV.

REMONSTRANCE *made to the* COUNT DE SIEVERS, *the* RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR, *on the Part of the* KING *and the* STATES *of* POLAND *by the* CHANCELLOR *of the* CROWN, *and of the* GRAND DUCHY *of* LITHUANIA.

THE king, and the confederated ſtates of the republic, having had notice of a ſecond violence committed to-day upon the deputies of the nation, of whom many have been arreſted at their houſes—feeling with ſorrow the injuries which a free and independent nation has ſuffered from a foreign power, and not being able to continue legally our deliberations without the preſence of thoſe members of the diet, we have ordered unanimouſly the chancellor to preſent, in our name, a note to the ruſſian ambaſſador, to repreſent to him the general ſenſation which ſuch a proceeding has occaſioned, and to demand the immediate enlargement of the perſons arreſted.

Having alſo learned, that the ambaſſador had ordered the proviſions deſtined for the uſe of the king to be intercepted, and the eſtates of M. Tyſkievietch, marſhal of the grand duchy of Lithuania, to be ſequeſtrated, which gives us reaſon to apprehend that in future ſuch violences may be increaſed, we reſolved unanimouſly, that the chancellor ſhall make to the ambaſſador ſuitable repreſentations on the ſubject, inſiſting that ſuch orders ſhould be countermanded, as well with regard to the king's domains, as the ſequeſtration of the eſtates of the marſhal Tyſkievietch; and with reſpect to other eſtates of which the violation has not yet come to our knowledge, the ambaſſador will henceforth be pleaſed to abſtain from giving ſuch orders.

A copy of this note ſhall be communicated to all the foreign miniſters reſiding near the king's perſon, and the ſtates aſſembled.

Done at Grodno, July 11, 1793.

NOTE *delivered to* M. DE SIEVERS.

THE underſigned have the honour, by the expreſs command of the king and the confederate diet, to diſplay to the ambaſſador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the empreſs of Ruſſia, the reaſons which plainly militate againſt the ceſſion of the provinces of the republic of Poland, taken poſſeſſion of in the courſe of the preſent year by the Pruſſian troops, and demanded by the court of Berlin.

It is notorious, that the treaties of 1773 and 1790, on the part of the court of Berlin, ſecured not only the poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces, but alſo guaranteed their defence.

No infringement of thoſe treaties on the part of Poland has been adduced, nor can be adduced; whereas, on the contrary, the republic, ſince 1773, has not ceaſed, by various reiterated notes, to complain of open tranſgreſſions reſpecting the non-performance of ſeveral articles of the treaty of 1773, which aſſure to the ſubjects of the republic of Poland the free commerce in all the pruſſian territories, and likewiſe the free paſſage of their productions through the ſame territories into other ſtates.

The event of the 31ſt of May 1791, cannot be adduced by the court of Berlin as a motive for ſeizing the provinces of the republic, ſince there are authentic documents, by which the king of Pruſſia expreſſed, in the moſt marked terms, his approbation of that event, and even intimated that he found it much to his advantage.

With regard to the charge of jacobiniſm, we have already ſufficiently evinced, by the many circumſtantial anſwers given, that this pernicious doctrine has never yet infected the boſom of the poliſh nation, and that government has taken the moſt vigorous and moſt energetic meaſures that it ſhould not ſpread in Poland by any foreign emiſſary that might have been uſed for that purpoſe.

The confederate ſtates of the republic being thus convinced that they have given no reaſon to the king of Pruſſia which can warrant the taking poſſeſſion of the poliſh provinces by his troops, have expreſsly charged the underſigned to have recourſe, by a note, in the moſt urgent manner, to the generoſity and equity of the empreſs of Ruſſia, to induce her to interpoſe in the moſt powerful manner with the king of Pruſſia, in order to avert the misfortunes with which Poland is threatened, and already unfortunately overwhelmed.

The confederate diet apply with this requeſt, and with the more hope to the empreſs of Raſſia, ſince they have quite recently given the moſt convincing proofs to that great princeſs, of the confidence they repoſe, and the reſpect they feel for her.

Of this charge the underſigned acquit themſelves, in virtue of the expreſs orders of the king and the confederate ſtates, in diet aſſembled.

(Signed) PRINCE SULKOFFSKY,
Grand chancellor of the crown,
CASIMIR PLATER,
Vice-chancellor of Lithuania.

Grodno, July 27, 1793.

ANSWER *of the* RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR.

THE underſigned, however flattering he finds the new proofs of confidence which the ſtates of the republic repoſe in her imperial majeſty, his miſtreſs, can as little agree to the leaſt delay reſpecting the overture of the negociations with the pruſſian ambaſſador. The ſtates ought immediately to furniſh the delegation with the deſired inſtructions and powers. The readineſs which will be ſhewn for that purpoſe, will ſerve as the meaſure of the interference which her imperial majeſty will make, in order to complete thoſe affairs which

which lie ſo near to the heart of the republic. This readineſs will likewiſe induce the king of Pruſſia to make favourable commercial arrangements, and to regulate other important objects.

The underſigned is ready to interpoſe his mediation whenever he ſhall be called upon in the ſaid negociation, the ſpeedy concluſion of which has been quite recently preſcribed to him by the empreſs his ſovereign.

(Signed) JAMES DE SIEVERS.

For three ſucceſſive days the diet was aſſailed with official notes from the ruſſian ambaſſador and the pruſſian miniſter, full of threats and menaces, preſſing the ſignature of the treaty. The ſtates, however, perſiſted in their refuſal. At laſt M. de Sievers, the ruſſian ambaſſador, ſent in his *ultimatum* in a note, which ended with the following expreſſions:

"The underwritten muſt beſides inform the ſtates of the republic aſſembled in the confederate diet, that he thought it of abſolute neceſſity, in order to prevent every diſorder to order *two battalions of grenadiers, with four pieces of cannon, to ſurround the caſtle*, under the command of major-general Rautenfeldt, who is to concert meaſures with the grand marſhal of Lithuania for ſecuring the tranquillity of their deliberations. The under-written expects that the ſitting will not terminate until the demanded ſignature of the treaty is decided."

Done at Grodno, the 2d of September 1793.

DECREE *of the* DIET, *paſſed on the 2d of September, at* GRODNO, *empowering the* DEPUTATION *to treat with the* PRUSSIAN MINISTER.

WE the king, together with the confederate ſtates of the republic aſſembled in diet, having heard the report of the

deputation appointed to negotiate with the miniſter of the king of Pruſſia, and ſeen the plan of the propoſed treaty—Whereas it appears, that, notwithſtanding the mediation of the ruſſian ambaſſador, the court of Berlin perſiſts in meaſures detrimental to the republic, and that hardly a modification of ſome of the articles in that treaty was obtained, whereby we find ourſelves in the higheſt degree oppreſſed: Therefore, far from acknowledging the pretended legality of right whereby the court of Berlin endeavours to juſtify its violence exerted towards the republic, but, on the contrary, adhering moſt ſtrictly to our former declaration by the note given in anſwer to thoſe of the two allied courts —Declare before all Europe, to whom we have repeatedly appealed, That, founded on the faith of treaties moſt ſacredly obſerved on our part, as well as on that of the treaty recently entered into with his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, and *at his own deſire*, in the year 1790, (whereby the independence and the integrity of Poland were guaranteed in the moſt ſolemn manner,) being deprived of free-will, ſurrounded at this very moment of the preſent act by an armed foreign force, and threatened with a further invaſion of the pruſſian troops, to the end of ruining our remaining territories, we are forced to commiſſion and authoriſe the ſaid deputation to ſign the treaty, ſuch as it was planned and amended under the mediation of the ruſſian ambaſſador, containing in particular this clauſe—"That it ſhall be guaranteed by her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, his ſovereign, with all ſeparate articles relating thereto, eſpecially in regard to commerce, clergy, ſecurity of the republic, and of the inhabitants, either wholly compriſed under foreign dominion, or poſſeſſing property in both countries; namely, that the preſent prince primate of Poland might reſide conſtantly within the republic, ſo attending to his high office, and enjoy his entire revenues; alſo, that in caſe of the family of princes Radzivil being extinct, the houſe of Brandenburg ſhould not form any pretenſion to their ſucceſſion,

ſucceſſion, which ſhall belong to the republic." With the following alteration, however, of the laſt article in the ſaid treaty; "That we the king will not ratify ſuch treaty of ceſſion, both in our and in the republic's name, unleſs the treaty of commerce, and all ſeparate articles mutually agreed on, under the accepted mediation and guarantee of the court of Ruſſia, by both parties, ſhall be finally ſettled and ſigned by the contracting powers."

END OF THE APPENDIX.

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